





## CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *The Shoo King, or Book of Records; its character, antiquity, and summary of its contents.* By a Correspondent.

THIS is the most ancient book known amongst the Chinese. Its contents being considered sacred, any efforts of ours, as critics, to praise so elaborate a performance, would be considered as useless, and perhaps only lower the opinion of the learned respecting this famous history. If we were to speak about the style with all its innate beauties, though it has always appeared to us a little too laconic, we should only repeat what others have said long ago. To tell the patient reader, that the great mass of Chinese writers have formed their diction according to its pattern, would convey little knowledge. Yet notwithstanding, being thus forestalled by wiser heads than our own, we have had for many years a very strong desire of reviewing this work, and introducing barbarians into the ancient lore of the Chinese. For this we have also our reasons, which will appear at the end of the essay, and in the meanwhile we shall only inform the world, that we are ambitious of the honor of an *antiquary*, and to this end we examine, as the story goes, the most ancient book in the world. We shall also try to say something new, to avoid becoming tedious.

The grand object of the Shoo King is to convey a picture of the good olden times, when the number of the wicked was as small as in our days is that of the virtuous. The first question which naturally arises is, how was the book composed? The answer invariably given is, from ancient records, by the prince of literature, Confucius.

People of a prying disposition are not satisfied with this summary account, and on investigating the matter, they will find, that the origin of this wonderful work, like all old stories, is enveloped in a good deal of obscurity. For the discrepancies and unconnected parts, the learned give credit to that mischievous burner of books Che hwangte, who completely swept away all ancient lore, so as to leave only one copy of the Shoo King hidden in a wall, whilst an old gray-headed scholar repeated the whole by heart. From these two sources, this precious relic was again restored to the world.

Now if Kung tsze really copied from ancient records, we should have felt obliged, if he had indicated the names; if from bamboo slips, on which the books were then written, he might have hinted it; if on the contrary, he transmitted this history to the world from tradition, an honest avowal would have settled the matter. In the absence of all this information, we have the liberty of guessing, and do not scruple to tell the reader, that the sage filled many a page with his own thoughts, whilst he ascribes the same with great humility to old Yaou and Shun. This may pass as a pious fraud, of which there is so much in this world; this, however, being admitted, we ought no longer to think of reading of the times of Abraham, but transport ourselves to the fifth century before Christ, when the sage flourished. What, however, becomes then of the history contained in this book? To this we reply, that it is not at all improbable, that the names of many princes or chiefs, that lived in the times of yore were not entirely forgotten, and that whatever was transmitted by tradition, though erroneous in many respects, might still have been retained, as the only account preserved amongst the nation.

Some general remarks may here be in their place. A great deal of vanity induced the first Chinese writers to refer to antiquity as the source from whence their opinions flowed. History, therefore, could not possibly be the recital of events which had passed only a few centuries ago, but had to be led back to ages of which the memory had long been buried in oblivion. The first who gave the example was Confucius, and from his compilations all that the Chinese possess of ancient history is derived. He dwells in this book diffusely upon the first reigns of his heroes Yaou and Shun, does not mention even the names of all the princes of the Heā dynasty, and then again launches forward in the praise of Woo wang and Wan wang, who overthrew the reigning family and established the Shang line of princes. Then again we must be satisfied with short notices, until the Chow rulers engage his eloquence, and finishes with Ping

wang, a ruler of that family, 770 B. C. These annals, therefore, comprise a period of about 1435 years, not including Yaou and Shun, and impartiality will assign to them as much credibility as it gives to all other histories, with records events 590 years before our era. The Chinese monarchy is not older than the Persian, unless the existence of small principalities, and the reign of some enterprising chiefs deserves that name. We cannot compare the Shoo King to anything better than to the fragments from whence Herodotus derived his history of Asia. The greater part of the work is in dialogue, and every subject is treated with so much brevity; that a hundred questions arise spontaneously, which though faithfully answered by the commentators, still leave much to desire. Being, however, the only work of this description, it is sacred to every true son of Han, and he would much easier be led to doubt the existence of the sun, than the veracity of the Shoo King, and we therefore must carefully hide our scepticism for fear of giving offense. As we, however, write for the edification of barbarians, we may be allowed to add something more.

To have carried history to such remote antiquity might have satisfied every moderate speculator. Just suppose a historian of the present day, writing the history of the United States, and beginning with a sachem, something similar to Yaou and Shun, setting up and destroying dynasties, until the time when the first intruders from Europe arrived in the distant west. Would you call this a faithful history of America, that so many names mentioned were actually borne by some chiefs some centuries ago? But no more of this. Szema T'seen; the first professed historian of China, goes still further, though he lived as late as a century before our era, and commences with Hwang te, the yellow emperor, that lived long before Yaou, about the time of Lamech, and the declining age of Adam. His commentator, Szema Ching, considered it necessary to improve upon such an excellent pattern, and therefore recedes some centuries, and commences with Fuhle. Upon this, Lew Taonyuen, a writer of the middle ages, improves, and tells the world, that history ought to commence 2,227,000 years before Confucius with Pwankoo. Another, supported by the priests of Taou, very modestly asserts, that the above scholar must be in the wrong, because 96,961,740 years had already elapsed, when the sage made his appearance in the world. Having thus given a fair specimen of the antiquity of this monarchy; we leave the reader to judge for himself, satisfied ourselves that its existence cannot be placed before the great empires of western Asia.

This matter being thus satisfactorily settled to our own mind, we proceed to tell the reader, that in writing this essay we intended to give him a general idea of its contents, and shall not therefore be slow in quoting the most striking passages. Here we only remark, that the work is divided into four books; the first contains the history of Yaou and Shun, the second that of Heä, the third of Shang, and the fourth of Chow, until Ping wang. The book opens in the following manner.

“It is said, if an examination be instituted about the ancient emperor Yaou, you will confess, that his merits were vast, that he was respectful, clever, decorous, prudent, perfectly at his ease, truly courteous and striving to be humble, and that the lustre of his merits spread everywhere to the utmost extent. Being, therefore, celebrated and eminent for his virtues, he thereby promoted the relationship between the various families; and these living in harmony, the peace of the nation was confirmed. Whilst the people exhibited these qualities, all countries were kept in good understanding. The black haired people thus reformed, they lived in mutual good understanding. He also ordered He and Ho to pay regard to the glorious heavens, and to make astronomical calculations respecting the sun, moon, and stars, in order to report to the people regarding the seasons.”

This specimen may satisfy the most scrupulous anti-sinologue, that Yaou was a gentleman as accomplished as Lewis XIV., and that he moreover was a reformer, an honor for which few kings are anxious. But one of his most meritorious actions was, that he pacified the world, not like Napoleon who waged war merely for the love of peace, but like a man who knew what he was about, by making families harmonize, and transferring the same benefit to the nation, and from thence upon all countries. Had he lived in our enlightened times, he might have done the honorable Company a great service, by thus influencing their Nipálese, Burman, and Persian majesties, who are not overfond of quietness.

What honor does the wise Yaou confer upon astronomy? From this early notice of this science, we really conclude, that the ancient Chinese were no whit behind the Chaldeans and Egyptians, likely for the same reasons. Yet we believe that the correctness of these calculations, of which we have in the Shoo King an instance, and in the Chun Tsew, a chronological work of Confucius, a series of eclipses, cannot be valued higher than those of the above nations. Yet notwithstanding the royal patronage, these scholars occasionally neglected their duty. For this they were severely reprehended, but during a subsequent reign got so exasperated on account of the censure passed upon them, that they rose in open rebellion. They appear to

have been popular leaders, whom a great many of the nation favored. The emperor, therefore, had to march an army of 20,000 men in order to quell the insubordination of two astronomers. The year, according to the regulation of these worthies, was to consist of 366 days, the whole to be divided into four seasons, and an intercalary month to be inserted, in order to equalize the four parts of the year. This being satisfactorily arranged, Yaou held council with his grandees, in order to choose proper persons for the various employments of government. Above all he wished to have an able man intrusted with the repair of the ravages occasioned by the deluge. Though the opinions at first differed, as is always the case, even in a king's council, yet Yaou declared in favor of Shun. Here we shall again resume our extracts.

"It is said, that in examining into the life of the ancient emperor Shun, one perceives that he was very illustrious and resembled the emperor Yaou. His deep penetration, courteousness, cleverness, affability, respectful behavior, solidity of character, and exalted virtue, raised his fame, and caused the decree which put him on the throne."

His first measure, during the life of the celebrated Yaou, was to offer sacrifices to the supreme emperor, the mountains, hills, and rivers. The worship bestowed upon these natural objects of veneration followed the service of the Supreme Being. When, however, the nation became more refined, and their taste as well as manners vitiated, polytheism, with all its absurdities, found favor with the Chinese, as well as with the most polished nations of the west. Even the most intelligent Chinese worthies are not free from an imputation of having practiced idolatry. After the performance of this important duty, he sat down and compiled a criminal code, the principles of which remain the same until this day. When the death of his venerable compeer made him sole arbiter of the empire, he became at once legislator, as well as the executor of the law. To banish vice from the country, he exiled disorderly persons, and whilst administering a severe punishment, he at the same time gave the poor barbarians, amongst whom the civilized culprits were living, an opportunity to improve in their manners by the force of example. He then completely regulated his government upon a new footing; not however to his own ideas, but after a mature consultation with his counsellors, and then made regular tours to inspect the officers, in order to ascertain how far they performed their duty. Amongst other institutions, he created an office for the promotion of music, in which he himself was an adept. The air he invented charmed the very

> beasts of the forest, and it may safely be inferred, that it also enchanted his subjects. His successor Yu was nominated by himself and the ministers of the cabinet. From hence it appears, that the Chinese monarchy was at first elective, a prerogative now bestowed upon the monarch alone, who without consulting his ministers, as did his venerable patterns, makes choice of a successor after the pleasure of his own heart.

The chapter bearing the name of Yu is full of salutary maxims, of which we shall quote a few.

“Yih, one of the ministers said, take heed, be careful and you will escape much pain. Do not offend against the laws, do not give yourself up to amusement, do not become a votary of pleasure. When conferring an office upon a worthy man, do not retract your word. Never hesitate to remove depraved people. Plans of a doubtful nature, do not execute, and whatsoever you resolve upon, will prove prosperous. If you wish to be popular, do not act in defiance of the wishes of the nation, and follow your own desires. By not being negligent and indifferent in the performance of your duty, you will induce barbarians from all quarters to come to you. Yu said, consider that virtue is the basis of a good government, and that it is the duty of the administration to provide for the wants of the people, that they may have water, fire, metal, wood, earth, and corn sufficient for their use. Preserve their morals, and provide richly for their wants. These are nine points, the observance of which constitutes the merits of a prince. Let these nine objects be recorded in popular songs. Influence them by bestowing suitable praise, instruct them with authority; exhort them by these nine ditties, and you will thus preserve the nation.”

A great deal is contained in these sayings, and if one or other of the princes would take the trouble of following them, he would soon discover, that Yu and his minister were practically acquainted with the art of governing. One rule requires our peculiar attention, viz. to convey this sage advice into popular songs, and thus make the nation at large acquainted with the spirit that actuates government. The collection of the She King or Book of Odes is a sufficient proof of the fondness with which the ancient Chinese embodied their thoughts in short stanzas, that were sung by every body. They were also accustomed to pass praise or blame upon the administration, and in fact to give full vent to their feelings by singing. It was not at all extraordinary, that ministers and princes drew a conclusion from the songs that were in vogue, upon the public opinion regarding their measures. Trivial as it might appear, it has frequently given rise to the most important events, and guided the principal actors in taking a resolution. Now Yu was perfectly aware that if he could make his



government so popular as to render it the burden of a song, he would have a strong hold upon the affections of the people, and hence he was so very anxious to have these ditties properly composed.

If the maxims contained in this book were not uttered by Yu himself, they do great honor to the composer, for they contain the purest morality mixed with much good sense. Yu appears here in the most amiable light, and always asks the opinions of his ministers, before he ventures to show his own sagacity. So much was he beloved by the nation, that when he wished to surrender the government of the empire, like his two predecessors, to the most worthy of his ministers, his son and heir was considered, by the general assent of the nation, as voted to be emperor.

Having been employed in dividing the country, after having drained the marshes occasioned by the deluge, he investigated the soil, accurately examined into the productions, and drew up accordingly a catalogue of the tribute, which was to be paid by the respective districts. Upon this geographical account all similar descriptions compiled by the natives have been founded, and how imperfect soever, it gives one a tolerable idea of the celestial empire in ancient times. A map has been accordingly drawn, it is rude and imperfect, but perhaps the first delineation of a country, as Yu's are the first original statistical tabs ever presented to the world. Princes, however, appear to have been in all ages of the same mind, and when they give themselves a great trouble about their country, it is with the view of benefiting themselves. Thus also in this case. The accuracy of the description claimed an equal accuracy in the discharge of tribute. In the enumeration of these articles, we find many curious articles; amongst others, precious stones and pearls, which proves, that the people, who lived immediately after the deluge, were very rich.

The reign of his son opened with a declaration of war against a rebel. He called together his vassals, and then declared, that heaven had resolved upon the destruction of the unnatural rebel. The language is strong and powerful, but we are not told whether the exploits corresponded with the bravado. There is, however, something very remarkable in the wars of the ancient Chinese, which may deserve imitation. Whenever two armies came in contact, the two commanders-in-chief challenged one another to single combat, whilst the remainder of the army quietly awaited the issue. When one had fallen another would take his place and fight on. The battle was thus frequently decided without much loss of life, for the party that

had lost most of its champions retired in confusion. Now this is a very gentle mode of settling disputes and saves many innocent beings, who would never have thought of drawing a sword for mutual destruction, and may therefore be safely recommended. There is some hint in the text, which shows, that this mode of fighting must have been in vogue at that time.

His successor was not aware, that the power of virtue impressed upon the minds of the people by his grandfather Yu was evanescent. Having spent one hundred days in hunting, one of his vassals took possession of the imperial territory. His five brothers therefore followed their mother to the place of the exiled monarch, and each of them repeated in his presence a song of Yu, in which this wise statesman had described the ruin of a prince. These stanzas are very sensible, and deserve to be written in letters of gold in every royal cabinet. We are not informed, however, what was the effect; a circumstance which more and more inclines us to think, that the *Shoo King* is a collection of excellent maxims, which have been conveniently arranged under the different reigns.

No other remarkable circumstances occur, except the revolt of the two astronomers above noticed. The eclipse here spoken off, upon which the antiquity of Chinese history turns as on a pivot, places, according to the calculations of modern astronomers, the first year of Chungkang 2155 years B. C. We shall not dwell upon a subject upon which so much has been already written, but only remark here, that if no other reasons can be brought forward, the authenticity rests upon a foundation of sand. Considering, that the calculations themselves do not agree, that the notice is very slight, and that the Chinese would never have laid so much stress upon the matter, if foreigners had not seized upon this circumstance to blazon the fact to the world.

All the latter reigns, from Tseäng 2146, until Keë Kwei 1767 B. C., are not mentioned in the *Shoo King*, and how other historians could have made up this gap, we are unable to tell, there being no other authentic document extant. The third part of this work commences with the declaration of Chingtang, the founder of the Shang dynasty, against the last wicked prince of the Heä family. These few lines belong to the most pathetic in sentiment, as well as in expression.

„Listen, all come hither and hear my words; how can I a little child dare create trouble; but since the dynasty of Heä has committed many crimes, heaven has issued a decree for its extirpation. All of you say,

our prince has no compassion upon us ; we therefore leave our harvest, in order to punish the Heä dynasty. I therefore only listen to your words ; the Heä family is guilty, but I fear the Most High, and dare not but act justly. Help me, a single man, to execute the punishment of heaven, and I shall richly reward you for this. Remain faithful to me, and I shall not break my word. If you, however, come not up to your oath, I shall kill you and your families without mercy."

Though the hero proved successful in his endeavors, and completely overcame the race of Heä, he still found some twinges of conscience, which disturbed the quiet possession of the throne. For this purpose, he held long and edifying conversations with his minister, and whilst explaining his views listened to his advice. He was an extraordinary man, who strictly personified the ancient emperors. There is, however, nothing so extraordinary as his righting the barbarians by invading their country. If he turned to the north, those to the south would complain, that he was so long in coming to assault their country. This was surely waging war for the benefit of the world, and it would be well, if the heroes of the present time would imitate Chingtang.

His grandson, however, was by no means equal to the task of ruling an empire, and the minister of state, in whose charge he was, therefore, endeavored to give him salutary instructions, and as he neglected to receive them, he was imprisoned, until he gave the most speaking proofs of his sincerity. These sage counsels fill no less than three chapters, not including the foregoing ones, which are entirely the gift of the minister. If the maxims laid down here can be put into practice, a government will possess considerable strength, and obtain a firm hold upon the love of the people. Like many other theories this also has to be tried, and its excellency be determined by the practicability of the execution. As they, however, stand in the book, we must not refuse the meed of praise due to every enterprise of rendering a nation happy.

From Wuhting, 1720 B. C. to Yangkeä, 1408, not the slightest hint is given in the Shoo King, and we must consider these fourteen emperors as mere nonentities, whose names are inserted in other histories of a less ancient date to parade before the reader.

The thread of discourse is again resumed with Pwan käng. This ruler suggested to his loving subjects the idea of removing the capital, and as they were not willing to comply with his commands, he adduced the will of heaven, as the great cause which had prevailed upon him to adopt this step. But as this did not seem to be a sufficient

reason for this stubborn race, he quoted old custom, and it then appeared that his ancestors had five times changed their abode, and why should he not do the same! As none deigned a reply, it is very probable, that they followed his directions. Being, however, once in a mood of imparting admonition, he went on to talk with the magistrates about their duties, and also assured the people that he was quite independent of every body. His colony having arrived at the new court, he immediately broached his lessons of wisdom.

“The Most High has given lustre to the grandsire of our family; he will grant protection to the empire. I shall, therefore, co-operate with my faithful subjects to preserve the life of my people, and to establish once for all my abode in this city. Instead of heaping up riches, endeavor to prove meritorious, and thus to lay a foundation for the peace of the nation.”

Two of his successors seem to have spoken nothing worth recording. Wooting, about 1324 B. C., began to make good the silence of his predecessors, by a greater share of loquacity. In order to prepare himself for his discourses he kept silence for no less than three years, mourning the death of his parent. When finally the ministers grew quite impatient, and urged him to open his mouth, he waited until he was directed in a dream to choose a worthy minister from amongst the people. He having safely arrived at court, the emperor said unto him, “Be unto me what a whetstone is to metal, an oar when passing a large river, and a shower of rain during great drought.” With this celebrated man he entertained himself, and the chapter is full of rational talk. The great object of these counsels was to make of this prince another Yaou or Shun, and if there was one single personage in the empire suffering, or one city not enjoying happiness, he would consider himself guilty of having caused all this misery. This is taking too much upon one’s self; but all the emperors in China have repeatedly in theory borne the crimes of the nation, and derived great fame for their conscientiousness.

From these delightful dialogues we are on a sudden called to the announcement of the approaching ruin of the Shang dynasty. A faithful minister had witnessed the vices of the court, and uttered his bitter complaints. But the warning voice was raised too late, the hearts of the people were alienated, and the champion of the rights of the people had already approached to expel by main force the monster that sat on the Chinese throne. We are thus arrived at the last book of the Shoo King, the dialogues held by the princes of Chow. Woo wang, the founder of this illustrious house, used the same reasons to prove to the world, that the Shang dynasty must

cease to reign, as Chingtang before him had done regarding the preceding one. His first charge, is too great severity and cruelty towards the people. The last scion of this devoted race dared to involve whole families in the crimes of individuals, and had moreover conferred hereditary office upon several magistrates, a thing in diametrical opposition to the constitution of the celestial empire. He was more lavish in his expenditure, and above all neglected to serve the Most High,—an unpardonable crime in those days. Taking therefore the whole into consideration, Woo resolved to put an end to these abuses, and at an assembly of the commonalty, he declared that heaven had ordered his father, and subsequently himself, to maintain the rights of the people; and he added,

“Mark, heaven protects the nation, and appoints men to become its princes and teachers; but these are only the ministers of the Most High 上帝 to promote everywhere tranquillity, and to distinguish the guilty from the guiltless. Can I then prove disobedient to his will? The measure of the crimes of the house of Shang is full, heaven’s decree for their extirpation is past, and should I myself not act in obedience thereto, I should become their accomplice.”

A great deal of this apparent piety is obliterated in the following pages, where the hero tells us, that he was going to sacrifice to the Most High and to the earth. ‘Only assist me,’ he added, ‘and heaven will accord the wishes of the people, and I shall be enabled to establish everlasting tranquillity throughout the four seas,—do not on any account lose this opportunity.’ This was then H. M’s. maiden speech before all the lords and gentlemen assembled. The government of China seems to have been, in ancient times, a mixture of oligarchy and democracy. We hear our new king next lecturing the soldiers, who had flocked to his standards, upon that important chapter, virtue. There are few addresses of Napoleon to his army equal to these two. They most strongly prove, that the leader knew what soldiers are, and how perfectly he understood to work upon their passions. With these valiant hosts, he marched forward, and when arriving in sight of the imperial army, the soldiers of that division turned their arms against each other. Having annihilated themselves, Woo wang took possession of the empire, and with great wisdom divided the kingdom amongst wise and approved ministers, and so effectually swayed the empire, that all the wounds inflicted during the last misrule were soon healed, and the nation began again to revive, 1015 B. C. This detail is the only historical part which we have yet found in the Shoo King. Confucius, who lived under this

dynasty, was naturally anxious to add as much lustre to its grandeur, as his writings could prove, and he is, therefore, in this instance more diffuse. His administration was supported by a wise and powerful minister, who was thoroughly persuaded of the divine right of kings, and therefore did not fail to inculcate this important lesson upon his royal master. In other respects, he teaches him thoroughly the art of a king, how a ruler ought to feel the pulse of the nation, to observe prognostics, and also consult the stars. Virtue and vice greatly influence the order of the universe; rain, dew, dearth, and plenty, may thus be procured by a prince for the nation over whom he rules, and the only requisite is to be virtuous. Some strangers had made a present of a dog to the new sovereign; a circumstance that produced a whole chapter of remonstrance against the introduction of foreign commodities. Do not make much of these things, the counsellor said, and the foreigners themselves will come to offer them at an advantageous price. Now this was quite so as it is still to-day.

Amidst his manifold labors, however, Woo wang fell sick. The consternation was general, and none was so much touched as a near relation of the monarch. What was now to be done? In this great extremity, the ministers remembered, that there was a mysterious casket, in which the lot of dynasties was contained. This they therefore opened, and having found, that the whole had a favorable issue, all were consoled and confidence as well as general joy restored. The prince who thus inquired after his fate, made a vow that he was quite ready to die for such an excellent prince. This devotion seems to have had the most happy effect, and the cure was effected with wonderful speed. For all this, however, he was accused of the blackest crimes. When the punishment was announced, heaven declared in favor of the innocent, a dreadful tempest arose, and the calamity was not assuaged before the sovereign himself had made a public declaration in favor of his meritorious minister.

Hitherto we have only had the axioms of statesmen, but Ching wang, 1115 B. C., himself becomes orator. Some of the descendants of the Shang dynasty had endeavored to assert their right to the throne, and he was therefore anxious to engage the loyalty of his good officers to resist the usurpation. The antagonist of the emperor was speedily put down, and the monarch acted most generously by bestowing a principality upon the fallen rebel, but he gave him also many good lessons, how to establish an excellent government. Another long chapter of admonition, addressed to a prince by Woo wang, follows. For all those who wish to rule, the perusal may be of ex-

tensive use; Fenelon could not have written more edifyingly when he was instructing his royal pupil. As perhaps none of my readers, however, are called to govern a nation, we will not insert these remarks, and now go over to a chapter containing the maxims against the introduction of *liquor*.

During the latter end of the Shang dynasty, when dissoluteness and libertinism generally gained the upper hand, a kind of *distilled liquor* had been invented in the capital. When therefore a relation of Woo wang received the control of this district, the king deemed it necessary to give him very strict directions respecting this liquor. This beverage, he said, ought only to be used at sacrifices; in consequence of its being drunk to excess, whole kingdoms have been subverted. Men who work hard, and strictly perform their duty, ought to be treated with indulgence. Others who are apprehended when intoxicated ought to be taken up. Do not, however, punish, but instruct them. If they profit by your exhortation, reward them; if they turn a deaf ear to your admonition, condemn them to death, without mercy or reprieve. To this, other salutary advice is added; and a variety of directions for promoting agriculture and every branch of industry, the whole well worth reading. In all these papers, mercy is always recommended in preference to justice.

In the arrangement of some chapters, chronological order has been much neglected, and it is on that account that some speeches, which were delivered in a preceding reign, are put before others of a much later date. That which is generally known under the name of Lo-kaou is an address of a minister at the coronation of Ching wang, the successor of Woo wang. There is much frankness in this harangue; the prince is told some very severe truths, and he is directed to study the welfare of the people, as the first and most necessary of all the duties. No British corporation could possibly have presented a better congratulatory paper to the young queen, than this veteran statesman. Whilst he, however, gives his admonition in the words of command, he professes the most devotional regard towards his young master, and prostrates himself before H. M., and promising to render himself and all the people virtuous. This was certainly a noble undertaking.

During the reign of Ching wang, there lived one of the wisest men, a very celebrated statesman called Chow kung. He considered it a most important object to instruct the monarch, and moreover to civilize the nation. To effect the first, he held long speeches, and compiled a code of rites, full of the most amusing remarks. The first

have been faithfully preserved in the Shoo King, and though they contain nothing new, they only confirm, that all the politicians of China thought about the art of governing in the same manner. His praise is very high, and he ranks amongst the worthies who are worshiped to the present day in the imperial pantheon. Exasperated against the previous rulers, and bound by the ties of consanguinity to the emperor, he exerted himself much to insure the loyalty of the new subjects. They were at first reluctant to obey their new master, but Chow kung's affability, joined to an earnest desire of conferring benefits upon the nation, conciliated their goodwill. He was, however, not content with merely giving his advice to the people, but most effectually dissuaded the king from giving himself up to pleasure, and cited the example of the unfortunate princes of Shang, who fell victims to their follies, whilst others by their virtues prolonged their lives and confirmed their rule. When one of the ancient ministers wished to leave the court, of which he constituted the principal ornament, Chow kung did his utmost to retain him. His persuasion was powerful and effectual, and has on that account been preserved in the Shoo King.

Notwithstanding, however, the constant care bestowed upon the government, the people were still dissatisfied, and Ching wang therefore told them, once for all, if they would not attend to kind words, he would exercise the power intrusted to him by heaven, and punish them severely for their disobedience and mutinous disposition. In order to effect this purpose, a new code of laws was issued, and a number of remarks published by the ministers to prove the excellency of this measure. A new list of officers was drawn up, and every department received its proper administrator. All this was effected by the wisdom of Chow kung, a man who is said to have been versed in all the sciences of the age, and that he was particularly well acquainted with astronomy. On his death, another worthy man was nominated in his stead, and a whole chapter of the Shoo King contains the instructions about his proceedings.

Ching wang, after a reign of thirty-seven years, fell suddenly ill. His pains increasing every day, he saw his end approaching, and having called all the grandes round his bed, he gave them his last advice. He puts the most favorable construction upon his reign, and advises his son and heir to treat foreigners with indulgence, to instruct those who are near his person, and to maintain peace throughout the world. After his death, he was buried with great ceremony, which has been faithfully described in the Shoo King.



Kang wang, the young successor, immediately delivered a speech to the grandees and vassals assembled at court, and showed the necessity of conforming to the ancient statutes, whilst he himself promised to imitate his predecessors. Unlike all other young rulers, he retained the old minister, who during four successive reigns had held the helm of the state. He was at that time more than 120 years of age, but still possessed sufficient perception to understand an eulogy which the young monarch addressed to him. The Chinese emperors are very fond of old ministers: witness Taoukwang's cabinet, where you may see hoary heads of eighty. Though this gives a very venerable aspect to the councils of princes, we doubt whether any decrepit old man is able to endure the fatigues, and whether the said apparent ministers have not favorites who perform their duties in their stead.

The remaining part of the Shoo King contains a repetition of Woo wang's sage maxims. All the princes of this line were anxious to embody the principles of their grandsire, and therefore have his name constantly in their mouths. They are at the same time very loud in deploring the degeneracy of the age, and look back with great delight to centuries past, when all the world was actuated by virtuous principles. Amongst the celebrated princes of Chow, Muh wang holds a very conspicuous place. When he was 100 years of age, he announced to the world, that he was going to issue a penal code, the result of much experience. To render, however, the new ordinances more important, the monarch cites the example of venerable Yaou, who was shocked by the inhuman punishments inflicted by one of his contemporaries. Mercy ought thus to be the basis of the penal code. No man who cannot be fully convicted of his crime ought to be punished. In most cases redemption money may be received from the culprit. The execution of the law ought not to be hampered by judicial difficulties, and the sophism of attorneys. The hints laid down in these regulations are at present the foundation of Chinese legislation, and the traces may be found throughout the Ta Tsing Leüh Le. So much is the nation wedded to antiquity.

The thread of history is henceforth lost, 946-770 B. C., until the reign of Ping wang. This prince was sorely pressed by some barbarian tribes, and therefore invoked the aid of one of his relations, who had been appointed a hereditary vassal by one of his ancestors. This address concludes the historical part of the Shoo King; the remaining two chapters refer to two tributary princes, who in time of danger promulgated some wise regulations. With the conclusion of the work, the chronology of history may be said to become more

certain, for Confucius continued purposely in the Chun Tsew the order. It is rather extraordinary, that the Greeks, only six years earlier, should have commenced reckoning their Olympiads, and that at the same time the kingdoms of western Asia should have assumed a different form. From hence, may be dated the existence of large empires, with the Egyptian and Assyrian at their head, and the authenticity of history in general.

Having thus finished giving a general view of the contents of this book, we beseech the reader to admire, with us, the Shoo King. The translation of Gaubil, though it very much embellishes the sense, is tolerably correct, and we therefore recommend it to the uninitiated in Chinese lore. As for all sinologues, we frankly confess, that those who have not read the Shoo King ought in common justice to set to work immediately, in order to make themselves acquainted with the quintessence of Chinese literature. Whatever may be the faults of composition, and there are very glaring, yet the book contains a vast variety of original ideas and principles, which to the very end of the existence of human society will continue to constitute the basis of good government. Whilst perusing this performance, the reader will feel that he treads upon the domains of remote ages, and that whatever meets his eye bears the stamp of primeval simplicity. It is a great pity, that all the wisdom which the ancients have condescended to bequeath to posterity is contained in speeches, and not exemplified by actions. We here observe, what Christian historians have often proved, that polytheism was not the offspring of the immediate age after the flood, but that it was gradually introduced to expel the knowledge of the true God, with whom all the posterity of Noah was conversant. He is repeatedly named in this work, and always with the deepest reverence, and if anything were still wanting to prove, that Shangte conveys in ancient lore the idea of the Supreme Being, one has merely to consult the Shoo King, to set the question at rest. How there ever could have been men, who dared to assert, that the Chinese had no name for God, we never were able to discover.

Here we bid farewell to our old friend, and if the reader is angry, that we have kept his attention so long fixed upon these remote ages, we promise to bring before him next time, a book of the most recent date. As far as we ourselves are concerned, we consider it an unpardonable crime, that in reviewing Chinese literature, we did not commence with the Shoo King, for it was no doubt the first book compiled in that language. This may serve as an excuse, and be put on record.

ART. II. *Remarks on the works of Charles Ritter; the Pocket Library, edited by J. H. Jäck royal librarian at Bamberg; the Chinese, by J. F. Davis; and China, its state and prospects by W. H. Medhurst: published in the Christian Review for March, 1839.* Boston, Gould, Kendall and Lincoln.

THE author of these remarks,—if by any means he should find himself in the Chinese empire alone, without any other guide than the article before us,—could not without some delay and much difficulty ascertain into what country he had come. By the time this were done, perchance he might perceive that there may be *one* other source of error besides those alluded to in his opening paragraphs: also he might discover that the foreign residents at Canton and its vicinity, notwithstanding “the infelicity of their position,” have the means of learning something of China “as a whole,” not excepting even “the interior and western parts.” This he now questions, affects to deny, and endeavors to disprove—with what success, will appear in the sequel. “What are you going to do!” some reader may be ready to exclaim. “A more clever review—one exhibiting more research, more accuracy, more solid matter-of-fact, and withal one every way better fitted for the great mass of common readers—I have never seen. The erudite and accomplished editor, who is the author of the review, has done his country good service, and himself much honor, in the timely publication of this very able article. It is really a most admirable paper, comprising in less than thirty pages a more complete view of China than can anywhere else be found.” Well let us see now how the matter-of-fact is, and if we can, let us find out the true state of the case. By the bye, it is proper here to remark—lest some one should suspect we may have “a pique against the author,” that we have no acquaintance with him: it is not with him, but with his article we have to deal; and the article is a good one—only excepting its errors as to facts. And here we take the liberty to repeat,—applying to himself, what he says of foreigners at Canton and its vicinity: “These errors have arisen not so much from the fault of the writers [the writer], as from the infelicity of their [his] position.” Whether these words of his are true or not, this application of them is fair; because if the residents at Canton are to be excused for their errors, on account of “the infelicity of their position,” much more ought they to

be pardoned, for like offenses, who are the very antipodes of the celestials, have never gazed on the "unparalleled beauties" of the flowery land, nor come within its "wonderful influence."

Presuming that our readers are not entirely unacquainted with the principal authors — ancient and modern, continental and English,— who have written about China, we now proceed to examine some of the facts advanced in the article before us.

"The modern French and Russian schools of Chinese literature, under such men as Rémusat, Klapproth, Humboldt, and Schmid, have a depth, variety, and completeness, to be found nowhere else; and have thrown a flood of new light upon China, not afforded by the incidental and insulated labors of their predecessors. p. 119 \* \* \* Those who are acquainted with the facts well know, that no Englishman in the east has made attainments in this study equal to those of Rémusat and Klapproth. p. 121. \* \* \* He who has learned all that Polo, Mailla, and Du Halde can teach him, will find little that is new in the recent books on China; . . . [And] . . . it is but too evident, that even in such men as Davis and Medhurst, there is an ignorance of nearly all the new light that has been cast upon Chinese geography and history; by the living oriental scholars of continental Europe."

All this, and more in the same strain, ought to be modified. In some respects Rémusat and Klapproth were unrivaled in their day; in others, not. But for the "incidental and insulated labors" of Prémare, the works of his successor might have lacked somewhat of their depth, variety, and completeness. Witness the grammar of Rémusat. Nor are the translations of that eminent scholar always so exact as we could wish they were. As a specimen, we introduce, with the text, his translation of the introductory lines to the second chapter of the *Yüeh Keaou Le*, or, "*Les Deux Cousines*."

任	再	強	甘	從	若	只	憑
他	莫	得	心	無	有	合	君
才	鑿	圓	合	淑	佳	人	傳
與	空	時	處	女	人	間	語
色	施	觚	錦	愛	懷	媚	寄
相	妄	不	添	金	吉	野	登
圖	想	觚	錦	夫	士	狐	徒

Note. These lines are to be read in the Chinese manner, commencing with the column on the right, at the top; the sounds of the same, arranged in European order, are given on the top of the next page: the orthography is that of Morrison's Dictionary.

*Ping keun chuen yu, ke täng too,*  
 —*Chih hõ jin keën, mei yay hoo* —  
*Jõ yew kea jin, hwac keih sze,*  
*Tsung woo shüh ucu ngac kin foo;*  
*Kan sin hõ choo, kin teü kin,*  
*Kcäng tih yuen she, koo puh koo;*  
*Tsae mö tsõ kung, she wang seäng,*  
*Jin ta tsae yu sih seäng too.*

Croyez-en les rapports d'un père, le jeune homme ira à tout;  
 Mais au moindre examen, le vide de sa tête se montrera.  
 Une belle peut distinguer qu'un homme de mérite,  
 Jamais une fille vertueuse ne fut touchée des biens de la fortune.  
 Un brillant tissu se joint volontiers à une riche étoffe,  
 La violence seule peut associer la perfection et les défauts.  
 La dissimulation n'obtient pas de succès constant.  
 Ne comptez jamais que sur le mérite et les agréments réels.

We leave the reviewer to consort this translation with the text in the best way he can devise; in the meantime we venture, with all due deference to continental sinologues, to subjoin another,—and the reader will please choose for himself.

The rake, gentle reader, I trust you to tell,  
 —For none but *he* smirks with the wild wanton belle—  
 That a *lady* would choose to consort with a *man*,  
 And never could fancy a *gold* gentleman;  
 That the union of *hearts*, adds beauty to beauty,  
 But a match is no match, if *enforced* as a duty;  
 Never chisel the heavens, in fruitless endeavor,  
 Let the noble and fair, *freely* wed with each other.

A somewhat difficult stanza this, taken at random, solely for the purpose of comparing it with the translation of Rémusat. We suspect that other parts of the work would betray similar ignorance of the allusions and figures found in the original text. As we have read only a single chapter of this book, the French translator may be supposed to have some advantage over us, since he must have carefully and repeatedly perused the whole. In the original, this passage is highly poetical and figurative. The word *keun* here means the honorable, i. e. the gentle reader; *täng too* is a double surname, and forms a kind of patronymic, like Belial, and is used here in a sense identical with that word, for worthless fellows, sons of dissipation; it stands as the correlative of *yay le*, wild foxes, vel *puellæ procaces*. *Kinfoo* denotes one who has gold but no sense, a hollow miser, or gilded fop; it is the opposite of *keih sze* the happy man, the perfect gentleman, the genuine scholar. The two phrases *kin*



*teèn kin* embroidery added to embroidery, and *koo puh koo* square not square, are used figuratively in senses that cannot be mistaken. *Tsö kung* is likewise a figurative expression, denoting that which is as useless as the drilling into the firmament, or the beating of the air.

And who are those *living authors* who have thrown such a flood of "new light" upon Chinese geography and history? Besides M. Julien, and two or three other savans, we know of none on the continent of Europe, who possess any very accurate knowledge even of the language of the Chinese; and without intending any reflection on those sinologues, we affirm that there are "Englishmen in the east," who have made attainments in this study equal — not to say superior — to those of Rémusat and Klaproth, or any other foreigners now living. If little that is new can be found in the recent books on China, it is not because the works of Polo, Mailla, and Du Halde are free from errors, or have told the half that is known of this country. And because Davis and Medhurst had little occasion to speak of the geography and history of the Chinese, it does not follow that they were ignorant on these subjects. Further, if the information contained in the article before us must be regarded as a fair specimen of the works of Ritter and others on the continent, it will be easy to show that our reviewer has misjudged, both with regard to the depth of their researches, and the amount of "new light" which they have thrown on China. A few specimens we will here notice. Following Ritter, professor of geography in the university of Berlin since 1820, he says —

"Except at Canton, which is approached by water, there are but three ways of access to China — that on the north from Asiatic Russia, through the wall, to Peking; that on the north-west, from central Asia, through the narrow passage between the mountains of Tibet, and the great desert of Tartary; and that from Burmah, on the south-west, into the province of Yunnan." p. 122.

In this manner many pages are filled — with remarks not indeed absolutely and altogether false or erroneous, yet so framed that they cannot but convey very inaccurate information. By saying, "except at Canton," and so forth, the idea is given that, along this whole coast, there are no other places of access to the country, and that there is no way of passing the boundaries of the empire, on the north, west, and south, except at the three points named above — "China Opened" notwithstanding. At one time, China seems to embrace the whole possessions of the reigning dynasty; at another its limits are restricted, and China seems like some castle, walled up to heaven,

and hermetically sealed all round, except at only three or four small vent-holes. On three sides it is hemmed in by "impassable mountains;" and on the other it is made inaccessible by the "tornadoes of the Yellow Sea." Of course, though the Chinese have an ocean on one of their borders, they are "*not a seafaring people,*" and have "*never acquired the cosmopolitan character of a commercial nation,*" forsooth, because they have never been in Europe. And how do the ambassadors from Siam and Tongking get to the capital, when they do not pass by the way of Canton nor through Burmah?

After giving us "these details," and others like these — having especially "consulted the wants of the English reader," he says "it would be interesting to hear at length the general remarks and philosophical reflections of this prince of geographers; but we must content ourselves with the following summary, condensed from his work." That we may not misrepresent Ritter, our readers must bear with us, while we quote two or three entire paragraphs, from this condensed summary.

"The great ocean current, which finds an outlet among the Ladrões, beats directly against the coast of China, producing a tide that flows more than 500 miles up the Keäng. This maritime part of China is filled with bays, lakes, streams, canals, and marshes; and the periodical succession of dry land and water by the tides, produces an effect upon the soil and its millions of inhabitants, to be observed in no other country on the globe. The relation between the coast and the ocean is highly characteristic of China, having no parallel in the northern hemisphere; and even that of Brazil, in the southern, has only a distant resemblance. The natural inland communication of this part of China is so much improved by art, that no part of the world can be compared to it. Such facilities for intercourse have a wonderful influence upon its myriads of inhabitants, by resisting the tendencies to individuality which exist in unconnected provinces. The action and reaction of mind upon mind, brought thus in contact, give a great uniformity of character to the whole population. Nearly all the rivers of China come in parallel lines from the mountains in the west. But the canals run north and south, cutting these rivers at right angles. The smaller streams supply the canals, and the larger serve as drains to carry off the superfluous water. The whole coast, from Peking to the mountains near Hang chow, is traversed by the imperial canal, which is like the trunk of a great tree sending out innumerable branches. Such a canal in Europe would connect the Baltic with the Adriatic, and this with the Euxine. In magnitude, this compares only with the great wall, and far surpasses it in utility. Only in a country, where despotism controls the labors of millions, would it be possible to construct either; and only in a country of so uniform a water level could such a gigantic canal be formed without a single interruption. It winds its crooked

course around elevations, and, with a considerable current, in a channel from 200 to 1000 feet in breadth, makes its majestic way sometimes through large bodies of standing water, often above towns and villages, and occasionally through mountains." *p.* 132. \* \* \*

"One fourth of China lies constantly under water, or is so marshy as to be incapable of tillage. Over this whole territory there are annual inundations, as on the banks of the Nile and the Ganges. All this would take place by means of the great rivers coming from Tibet, even though not a drop of rain were to fall here, and though no swelling tide were to rush in from the opposite direction. The building of dams, repairing damages of floods, opening or completing canals, are recorded as among the great events of history. In the imperial geography, the descriptions of canals in the several provinces, constitute one of the principal chapters; and, in treating of Shense, which is least provided with them, 350 pages of this work are occupied in describing them. No mandarin can make any pretensions to learning, who is not perfectly acquainted with those of his province, and the governor of the province must know their history, their measurement, and all the mathematical reckoning for dams, sluices, and branch canals. With all the details of this branch of knowledge, the imperial ministers are as familiarly acquainted as our professors of botany and conchology are with the details of their science. But the influence of the hydrographic system of China is still greater on the modes of life among the industrious classes. Of those productions which depend on this system of irrigation, we will mention that of rice alone, the staple article of food for three hundred millions of inhabitants, and which grows only on the coast south of the Hwang ho. It yields regularly two harvests in a year, the one in May, the other in October. Not only all the other parts of China, but the Manchows, and even the Mongols of the barren Gobi, as far back as to Siberia, are all dependent on the rice crops. The great army of the emperor, as well as the army of civil officers, in that complicated government, from the highest to the lowest, receive half their pay in rice. All the taxes of the nation are paid in rice; and hence the number of revenue vessels. Rice-dealing is thus the basis of Chinese trade; and the Delta, where this article is grown, is the centre of business, and the seat of the densest population. Whenever the rice crops fail, millions die of famine. The inhabitants are not all so fortunate as to have land to stand upon; many must be content to lead a kind of nomadic life, on the water; for in such extensive lowlands, a large part is necessarily in a middle state between land and water. Many lakes, and marshes, and channels, as in Shantung and Keängnan, are covered with dwellings, as much as the land. All the waters of China are free, no tax whatever being paid for fisheries, and the peculiar culture of this floating soil. Whole tribes of fishermen, in floating villages, without country and without home, wander about from place to place, like the fish of the sea, or the fowls of the air. Their vessels are connected into large floats; in the rear are small artificial gardens; and thus the back yards of these sailing farmers are covered with vegetable products, and are alive with ducks and swine. *pp.* 133-34.



All this summary may be true of some undiscovered regions in the moon, but it is very far from being true when applied to China. The canal, in a channel from 200 to 1000 feet in breadth, making its way above towns and villages! How gigantic! How majestic! And there is *the* imperial geography, and all the mandarins studying the history, and taking the *mathematical* measurement of all the dams and sluices and branches of the canals. And then, too, one fourth of the whole country is continually under water, or so marshy as to be incapable of tillage. Millions dying of famine, whenever the rice crops fail; and whole villages with their gardens, are seen floating about like fish in the sea, and fowls in the air! How interesting! How philosophical! Truly this is *new light*; with a witness.

It is much easier to make assertions than it is to prove them. One would require a small volume, if he should take up one by one each paragraph of the article before us; and separate what is false and erroneous from what is true, and adduce the evidence that might be deemed necessary to overthrow the one, and to establish the other. Of the very many passages which we marked as being erroneous, we will notice only one more in the first part of the article. It is the following.

“According to the treaty of 1689; between China and Russia; the boundary between them was to be passed only by triennial caravans, and any attempt to enter China during the intervals, was to be regarded as an aggression. As a party of Russian traders once crossed the line; and ventured to form a settlement on the Amour, a hundred and fifty miles beyond the boundary, they were captured by the Chinese, and carried to Peking. This at length led to a Russian colony in the Chinese capital; in which the Russian religion and Russian schools are tolerated. The Chinese emperor allows the colony to have six clergymen and four teachers, to be succeeded by others once in every ten years. The Russian government takes advantage of this arrangement, suggested by Chinese jealousy, and sends; every ten years, a new set of men, to study Chinese and Mongolian literature, and after their ten years of service have expired at Peking, to return to Russia, as professors of Asiatic literature! This is one of the reasons, that so much Chinese literature comes to us by the way of Petersburg.” p. 125.

On first reading this passage we supposed we had really got some new light. But having been very often in conversation with a native gentleman, for many years well acquainted with the Russian mission in Peking, and never having heard from him a word about a Russian colony, or Russian schools—excepting *four* ecclesiastical and *six* lay members—we were led to doubt the existence of such colony and schools. We had not quite forgotten Gerbillon's visit to

Nipchú, and his account of Albazin. Upon further reflection, we recollected to have seen, somewhere in Timkowski's book, a notice of the remnant of a colony. The principal information we found on opening that work is contained in the following paragraphs.

“On the 14th of June, 1728, a treaty of peace was concluded between count Vladislawitseh, Russian ambassador extraordinary, and the ministers of China. The fifth article is in the following terms:—‘The Russians shall henceforth occupy at Peking the kouan or court which they now inhabit. According to the desire of the Russian ambassador, a church shall be built with the assistance of the Chinese government. The priest who now resides there, and the three others who are expected, shall live in the kouan above mentioned. These three priests shall be attached to the same church, and receive the same provisions as the present priest. The Russians shall be permitted to worship their God according to the rites of their religion. Four young students, and two of a more advanced age, acquainted with the Russian and Latin languages, shall also be received into this house, the ambassador wishing to leave them at Peking, to learn the language of the country. They shall be maintained at the expense of the emperor, and shall be at liberty to return to their own country as soon as they have finished their studies.’—According to this treaty, the Russian mission, composed of six ecclesiastical and four lay members, fixed its abode at Peking; the first do duty alternately in the convent of Candlemas, and the church of the Assumption, situated in the same quarter of the city, and originally inhabited by the Russians, whom the Chinese government caused to be removed hither in 1685, after the destruction of Albazin, a Russian fortress, which had been built on the banks of the Amour. The lay members are young men, who are obliged to study the Mantchoo and Chinese languages, and to acquire an accurate knowledge of China. They all reside in the kouan, a vast building, part of which, known by the name of the court of the embassy, is kept in repair by the Chinese government, and the other, containing the convent, by Russia.” Vol. I. pp. 1-2.

December 21st [1820]. Benjamin the deacon, the assistant of the archimandrite, went with the deacon Seraphim, member of the mission, to take possession of the church of the Assumption, and to visit some small houses belonging to the Russian government, situated in the north-eastern part of Peking. These were habitations assigned to the Albazin Cossacks, a hundred and thirty years since, when they were removed to this capital from the banks of Amour.” Vol. I. p. 367.

“According to the treaty concluded between Russia and China, the only one which the latter has made with a European state, the correspondence was to be carried on at the same time in Russian, Mantchoo, and Latin. A special school was established at Peking, subordinate of the tribunal of Nuy Ko, to teach the Russian language to twenty young Mantchoos of the first families.” \* \* \*

“The Russians, who were brought from Albazin to Peking, taught the

Mantchoos the first element of the Russian language. In the sequel, several members of the Russian mission, with the consent of the Chinese government, were appointed to this office, for which they received considerable remuneration. The Chinese government on several occasions has expressed a desire that the Russians residing at Peking should contribute to instruct the Mantchoos. The special school, however, has made but little progress, as is evident from the translations made by the Mantchoos, from their language into the Russian; we perceive in the very first lines that the simplest rules of grammar are not observed. We were told that Youngdounig Dordzi, vanguard of Ourga at the time of the Russian embassy to China in 1805, had asked for translators, who had studied in the school of the Russian language at Peking. He expected to find in them able and trusty interpreters, without being obliged to apply to the Russians. The first interview proved that he was mistaken. The Mantchoo interpreters candidly confessed that they did not understand a word of what the Russians said." Vol. I. pp. 263-70.

"April 12th [1821]. In the morning, all the mission went in procession to the church of the Assumption; this ceremony was a little deranged by a heavy rain, which continued till noon. Mass was read by the archimandrite Peter, in a full assembly of the clergy, after which prayers were put up to implore the blessing of Heaven on the emperor, and the imperial family. The Chinese who were in the church appeared much edified by our divine service, and by the fervor with which the faithful subjects of the white Czar prayed for him beyond the great wall. None of the Albazins, even those who were baptized, were present at the ceremony, except Alexis who was their chief, and belonged to the Russian company, which is incorporated in the imperial guard. Alexis pointed out to us in this church, a picture of our Saviour in prison, seated and wearing the crown of thorns, which was brought from Albazin by his ancestors. The picture is pretty well painted, but in the style of that time, and become dark by the effects of age. The church was in such a ruinous state that it seemed ready to fall." Vol. II. p. 104.

"It was built about the time of the arrival of the Albazins, with the materials of a pagan temple which formerly stood in this square. One of the small houses close to the church is inhabited by a married Mantchoo, who is one of the emperor's guards. He pays the rent of a thousand tchoki, or tseën, about eight francs a month; and is obliged to guard the church. Before the house there is a deep ditch, which during the rainy season is filled with water, and as there is no outlet, it becomes a large stagnant pool. In general, this quarter of Peking is very poor, though it contains the palace of a prince, which is situated to the southwest of our church. The descendants of the Albazins live at present in the western part of the city, which is assigned to the division of Mantchoo troops to which they belong. They have lost all attachment to their former countrymen, the Russians. There are twenty-two among them who have been baptized; but they are so connected with the Mantchoos by marriages, and by their dependence as subjects, that it is very difficult to distinguish them. They speak Chinese; they dress like the

Mantchoos, and live entirely in the same manner as the soldiers of that nation— poor, idle, and attached to the superstitions of Schamanism." See Vol. II. p. 45.

Such are the Russian schools and colony and *teachers* in Peking, Timkowski himself being witness. Our reviewer seems to be in error, when he says six clergymen and four teachers; and Timkowski contradicts the words of the treaty when he says six ecclesiastics. The native gentleman, above alluded to, who has some knowledge of Latin, says the title of the principal is "vicarius episcopus;" and the name of the incumbent, when he left the capital about two years ago, he wrote "Menjamine," probably the deacon Benjamin, noticed in Timkowski's journal, for our informant said he was on his second term, having arrived in Peking near the close of Keäking's reign; that his associates were called "clerks, vel clerici," one of whom was a physician; and that of the students, two study Chinese, two Mantchou, and two Mongolian. He said further, that two of the Russians were good Latin scholars, and that the "episcopus" spoke the Chinese fluently. How "this arrangement" was "suggested by Chinese jealousy," we cannot divine; but why the Chinese should avail themselves of the Russians in their capital to study the language of their neighbors is very plain. This charge of jealousy seems uncalled for, and this "deeper shade" need not have entered into his picture here,—though it might elsewhere and for other reasons. The reviewer says, "observers at Canton and Macao have been treated with so much indignity and have suffered so much odium among that part of the Chinese with whom they have had intercourse, as to cause them to charge *their* picture of China with far deeper shades," than the Jesuits. This is one source of error with observers at Canton and Macao. "Another kindred error is, that of having intercourse with *intriguing* mandarins,—a most extraordinary and unique class of individuals,—and of applying epithets that are descriptive only of them, to the whole nation." And he adds, "there is no more resemblance nor sympathy, between the *artificial* and *fraudulent* mandarins, and the plain, simple and honest-hearted people, than there is between the nobility and the common people of Europe." Thus the observers here on the spot have some apology, in the indignity and odium they have suffered, for giving darker shades to their picture; but why is the writer on the other side of the globe so lavish of the epithets, jealousy, intriguing, artificial, fraudulent,—than which none can be of a darker hue? Why, if they are not true? And are the nobility of Europe as bad as the officers of the celestial empire? And

how are the "mandarins" a most extraordinary and unique class of individuals? And what intercourse have foreigners with them?

Moreover our reviewer intimates that "much Chinese *literature* comes to us by way of Petersburg." Except Timkowski's works, and a little volume by Father Hyacinth, we have not had the good fortune to receive anything from that quarter of a more recent date than the travels of E. Ysbrants Ides, who "set out from Moscow in 1692, on some important affairs to the great bogdaichan, or sovereign of the famous kingdom of Katai." We like to have forgotten Bell's Journal, who visited Peking in 1720. The English translator of Timkowski's book says, that so far as he was able to ascertain, none of the members of those successive missions, "have ever published anything on the subject of China, even in the Russian language." A journal, kept by Lawrence Lange, who accompanied the mission to Peking in 1727, was published by Pallas in his *Nordische Beiträge*. So says Lloyd. And he adds: "If any valuable information has really been gathered by the members of those missions, it seems the Russian government, if it has not prevented, has at least done nothing to promote the publication of it." In the Peking gazettes we have seen occasional notices of the Russian school; and about two years ago, a professorship for the study of the Chinese language in the university of Kasan was founded by the emperor of Russia.

There is one more point deserving notice in the paragraph under review. It is quite true that a treaty was formed between the governments of China and Russia in 1689. This treaty will form a part of our next article. Our reviewer clearly intimates, though he does not expressly so state, that subsequently to this date, 1689, a party of Russians was carried to Peking; and "this at length led to a Russian colony in the Chinese capital." Timkowski says they were removed thither in 1685, prior to the formation of the treaty. Who is right in this matter, the reader is left to judge.

Respecting the last half of the article, we have but little to say. The commendation of 'Jäck's charming Pocket Library of Travels,' is all well enough, for aught we know. The work contains a condensed summary of some of the principal narratives of foreign travelers in China from Carpini to the present time. But little room is reserved for noticing "the valuable works of Davis and Medhurst;" and "although neither of them is perfect," yet he does not hesitate "to give them the preference over anything we have seen in English." Such is the testimony of our reviewer; and therein we will not presume to question the correctness of his judgment. Of Mr Davis's

volumes he remarks, "In no other book of equal size can we learn so much respecting the civil and social condition of China. Here is no gaping at tales of wonder and prodigies; no European complacency and prejudice." This, too, is very just commendation; but then he adds:

"There is one thing, however, which seems not to be in keeping with his general character; and that is, the exposure of many disgraceful acts of European merchants and masters of vessels, in which the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch, the French, and the Americans act a conspicuous part, while the *English* appear to be no sharers in this game! We cannot,—such is the spirit of the book,—believe that is the effect of national vanity, or odium; but we set it down to the fact of his delicate official and personal relations." See *Review* p. 144.

The fact here affirmed escaped our notice in reading Mr. Davis' volumes. Our impression was strong that he was not chargeable with the partiality here imputed to him. To end our doubts, we determined to examine his book again. The first place we opened to, gave us the "singular instance of successful daring" by captain M'Clary, master of a country-ship from Bengal, in 1781, "*who certainly was little better than a pirate.*" Vol. I. p. 68. At the next place we opened we read: "With some it may be a question how far the system of exclusion, practiced by the Chinese government, justifies such means [direct violation of the laws of the country] in order to defeat it; but there can be none whatever with regard to those deeds of violence on the part of individuals, who have themselves attempted no other justification than the extent of the provocation. Among these instances may be mentioned, the shooting of Chinese from the smuggling ships near Liutin, in 1831 and 1833, and the notorious case of an English subject, who, by his own confession in the papers, actually *set fire to a mandarin's house.*" Vol. I. p. 126. Here we close the book, and must leave it with the reviewer to reconcile his own remarks with those of Mr. Davis in the manner he best can. It has been our sole endeavor to correct some of the reviewer's errors, and to show that if foreigners in China are more ignorant of this country than others are on the continent of Europe, it must be attributed to some other cause beside the infelicity of their position; and if we have erred in so doing we wait to be corrected.

We cannot close this article without expressing our deep regret that so little correct information respecting the Chinese empire exists in England and in the United States of America. If ever we have been disposed to smile at the writings of the Jesuits, or at the phi-

losophical reflections of Ritter, De Pauw, Montucci, &c., that smile was not *affected*. We confess, that when we see articles like that before us,—written evidently with the best possible intentions,—replete with error, and calculated to communicate and perpetuate the same, we ought to grieve rather than laugh. Foreign works on China are certainly very imperfect and incomplete, though they are somewhat numerous and voluminous. “Now what the English and American public greatly need, and as yet do not possess, is some thorough work which shall bring all these materials together; and by supplying deficiencies, adjusting differences and correcting mistakes, present a clear digest of the whole.” In this opinion of the reviewer, we entirely concur; and he may perhaps be pleased to learn that the materials for such a work are being collected; whether it will ever be completed in the “masterly manner” of Ritter, remains to be seen. *Some* of the Jesuits wrote admirably, and they certainly possessed superior advantages for so doing. We complain not of them; and of our reviewer we complain chiefly, because he does not distinguish between the good and the bad writers on the continent, and because he misrepresents the position of the residents in China. The reviewer ought, we think, to have been somewhat reserved and guarded in leveling his artillery against the residents at Canton and its vicinity—of whom he knew nothing, or if he did he must have been aware that their advantages as “observers” are comparable to those on the continent of Europe. For gaining a knowledge of the United States, would Yédo or Myako, be a more *felicitous* position than New York or Philadelphia? Would a philosopher of Han, who had never traveled among barbarians, be in a better *position* to give a correct account of Europe, than any other Chinese who may have had the “misfortune” to reside twenty years at “Bamberg” or in Berlin?

True it is that our limits here have been narrow, and our disadvantages many; still the position for observation is not quite so miserable as the reviewer represents—if he will allow us to be competent judges in this matter. Nor has the odium and indignity received by the *fanqui* rendered them utterly unable to distinguish black from white, “blessing” from “cursing.” And we hope, he will not take it ill, if we attempt to lighten a little the deeper shades of *his* picture. Excepting special occasions of “quarantine,” such as were experienced last March and during lord Napier’s stay in Canton, when “the poor foreigners were kept as close and safe as fish in a tank,” residents here have, we venture to say, occupied a better position and

enjoyed better advantages for acquiring a correct knowledge of the Chinese—their language, literature, manners, customs, laws, history, geography, &c.—than any other foreigners in the world, excepting perhaps those in Peking, but not those on the continent of Europe. The reviewer ought not to imagine, like the Chinese youth, that merchants here never read a page all their lives long. There have been in China, if we mistake not, students and fellows of Cambridge and other colleges both from Old England and New. Mr. Davis, during a residence of some twenty years in this country, enjoyed almost every facility he could well desire for gaining information. By the liberality of his honorable masters, the princes of Leadenhall, he was not only excused for a time from the regular routine of his commercial duties (if we have been correctly informed), but was furnished with the best means Europe could afford for the prosecution of his studies. Chinese books, to almost any extent he might name, were within his reach. He might too, if he pleased, occasionally meet with gentlemen from almost all the provinces of the empire, and daily read the gazettes. Nor was Mr. Davis wholly ignorant of the interior, having been once at Peking, and traveled thence to Canton; and both in this neighborhood and at Macao, he might, if disposed, in their shops, and bazars, and fields, visit tens of thousands of the *people*, a class of individuals, as “extraordinary and altogether as unique,” for aught we could ever discover, as the “intriguing mandarins.” The advantages which Mr. Davis enjoyed, others have, and many again, enjoy. *Able* teachers have ever been here the greatest desiderata; for those employed have usually been poor fellows. Rémusat has somewhere, in the preface to his grammar, if we rightly remember, alluded to, what he no doubt often and severely felt, the infelicity of *their* position, who have had to study the Chinese, without the constant assistance of living native teachers. Chinese sc̄ensāng they have sometimes had, but probably no way superior to those here employed. We must conclude, therefore,—all our disadvantages, our contracted sphere of observation, and the reviewer notwithstanding,—that the infelicity of our position and the sources of our errors, with regard to China, great as they may be, are not greater than they experience, who have had the good fortune to be nurtured in the modern French and German and Russian schools on the continent of Europe.



ART. III. *Hostilities between Russia and China; ambassadors and plenipotentiaries appointed; conferences and negotiations; treaty of perpetual peace and union concluded and ratified, September 7th, 1689, being the 28th year, 7th month of the reign of Kanghe.*

THE particulars of these hostilities are very briefly detailed by Gerbillon, whose authority we here follow, as given in Du Halde. "The Russians having by degrees advanced to the very frontiers of China, built the fort of Albazin, called by the Tartars and Chinese Yaksa, at the confluence of a rivulet of that name with the great river which the Tartars call Saghalian ula, and the Chinese Yalong keäng. The emperor of China's troops took and razed the fort; but the Russians having rebuilt it the following year, they were again besieged, and being apprehensive of the consequences of the war, desired the emperor to end it amicably, and to appoint a place for holding a treaty." The offer was accepted, and on the 30th of May 1688, the ambassadors left Peking. On the 22d of July, a dispatch was received from the emperor, who, in consequence of the war between the Eleuths and Kalkas, ordered his people to return, and at the same time to write to the Russian plenipotentiaries at Selengha, stating to them the reason of their return, inviting them either to come to the frontiers of his empire, or to propose some other method for holding the conferences. The next day three officers, with thirty attendants, were dispatched to the Russians with the following letter.

"The inhabitants of the Russian frontiers entered the countries of Yaksa and Nipchu, belonging to the emperor our master, and committed several outrages, plundering, robbing, and ill treating our hunters; they possessed themselves of the country of Hegunnuma, and other districts; upon which several representations were made to the Russian court, to which no answer being returned, the emperor, our master, in the year 1686, sent some of his people to the Russian officers commanding in those parts, to propose an amicable accommodation. But Alexis, governor of Yaksa, without regarding the occasion of the quarrel, immediately took arms, contrary to all manner of right and reason, which obliged one of the generals of the emperor's forces to lay siege to Yaksa, of which he made himself master by capitulation. However, his imperial majesty, persuading himself that the great dukes of Russia would not approve of the governor's conduct, gave orders for treating the Russians according to their quality; so that though there were above 1000 soldiers in Yaksa when it was taken, not one of them received the least ill usage; on the contrary,

those who had no horses, arms, or provisions, were supplied with them, and were sent back with a declaration that our emperor, far from delighting in hostilities, was desirous of living in peace with his neighbors. Alexis was surprised at his imperial majesty's clemency, and testified his gratitude with tears. Notwithstanding this, the next autumn he returned to the dismantled fortress, repaired it, then waylaid our hunters, and took from them a great number of skins; nay more, he invaded the country of Kumari, and laid an ambuscade for forty of our subjects, sent to survey those parts, whom he attacked, and carried off one called Kevutey: this obliged our generals to besiege Yaksa a second time, purely with design to seize the ungrateful and perfidious Alexis, in order to convict and punish him. The place being reduced to the last extremity, you sent Nicephorus, with several others, to let us know you were willing to treat of peace. Hereupon his imperial majesty was so good as to forbid shedding the blood of your soldiers, and immediately sent Ivan, the interpreter of Nicephorus, with others of his attendants, accompanied with some of his own officers, who had orders to ride night and day, that the siege of Yaksa might be raised while we waited for your arrival. This year you sent another officer, called Stephen, to know the place of treaty. Our emperor, considering your long and troublesome journey from a far distant country, and praising the pious intentions of the czars, ordered us to repair forthwith to the river that runs through the territory of Selengha, where you are at present, and to do all that in us lies to second the favorable dispositions of your masters. In consequence of these orders, having come a great way into the country of Kalka, we found the Kalkas at war with the Eluths; and as we undertook this journey solely to meet you, we came with a slender guard, pursuant to the request of the sieur Stephen, your envoy. But if we should proceed with so small a force to the place where the seat of war is, one of the contending parties may shelter themselves under our protection, in which it will be no easy matter for us to determine how to act; besides, as we have no orders from the emperor our master, with respect to the differences betwixt those two powers, it will not be proper for us to interfere of our own accord. On this account we have taken a resolution of returning to our own frontiers, where we shall stop, and in the meantime have sent you this express to acquaint you therewith, that if you have any propositions to make, or resolution to take in this behalf, you may send it us in writing. But if the road between us be at present impracticable, appoint the time and place of meeting, for we wait for your answer."

The ambassadors immediately returned, as commanded. On the 9th of September the officers came back with an answer from the Russian plenipotentiaries, who earnestly besought the Chinese to appoint the time and place of meeting, and promised to send deputies with letters immediately, in order to make known and to learn each other's intentions. The ambassadors soon after received instructions to join the emperor, then on one of his western excursions; not long

afterwards, in December, they returned with his majesty to Peking. On the 23d of May following, an envoy arrived from the chief Russian plenipotentiaries at Selengha, bringing a letter to the emperor's ministers containing in substance :

"That his majesty was desired to name a place of treaty upon the frontiers; that he would send his deputies thither, and appoint the time of meeting, that those of their part might repair thither with a train equal to that of the Chinese deputies. He likewise demanded that the conferences might be managed according to the customs observed on such occasions, and concluded with desiring a positive answer as soon as possible."

This envoy—by Gerbillon judged "to be either an Englishman or a Dutchman, for he had nothing of the Russian pronunciation, and understood the European characters,"—was accompanied by about seventy persons. In answer, the ambassadors were directed to say that, his majesty had been pleased to name Nipchú as the place of conference, and the 13th of June as the time for them to leave his capital, and that they should hasten forward with all possible speed, and would have no greater train than was just necessary for the safety of their persons.

According to the previous arrangements, on the 13th of June the embassy again left the capital, and traveled direct to Nipchú, situated in latitude  $51^{\circ} 49'$ , about due north from Peking. On the 27th of July, a messenger, who had been sent forward by the Chinese to announce their approach to the governor of Nipchú, returned to their camp, with a favorable report of kind reception, but stating that the Russian plenipotentiaries had not arrived at that place. On the 29th, a deputy came from the governor to meet and compliment the ambassadors, who on the 31st came in sight of Nipchú. On their near approach to this place, they met many of their countrymen—some were officers appointed by the emperor to act as deputies at the conferences; others, "considerable mandarins," came to meet and congratulate the ambassadors; and others were once officers but now exiles, in the condition of private soldiers, employed in laborious duties, poorly dressed, and in a melancholy mood, most of them with white or gray beards. On arriving over against Nipchú, they found a large assemblage of officers, soldiers, and servants, some had come in barks, and others by land—the whole might amount to nine or ten thousand men, three or four thousand camels, "and at least fifteen thousand horses." The governor of Nipchú was surprised at the arrival of so many troops, and had also to complain "because they acted as if they came not to treat of peace but to make war;" on

the other hand, he extolled the civility of those who had come from the ambassadors to announce their approach. Lest these irregular proceedings might cause the Russian plenipotentiaries to keep at a distance from Nipchú, or at least to conceal their arrival till they were better informed of the number and design of the Chinese troops, the ambassadors sent notice to their commanders to remove farther from the fortress, so as not to give the Russians any cause of complaint. The commanding officer of the Chinese troops, "posted himself in a very agreeable place, over against the fortress of Nipchú, which is admirably well situated at the bottom of a great bay, formed by the meeting of two rivers, the Saghalian and the Nipchú, which gives name to the place. To the east of the fortress, but beyond cannon-shot, are mountains of a moderate height; to the west very pleasant little hills, diversified with woods and arable lands; to the north a large open country bounds the sight; and to the south lies the great bay, near three quarters of a mile wide."

August 1st, the Chinese ambassadors, in order to hasten the Russians, sent them a letter, the purport of which, says Gerbillon, was no more than this:

"That having made all possible expedition according to their request, they were surprised to hear no certain tidings of their arrival; that if they did not hasten their coming, they should find themselves obliged to cross the river in order to encamp in a more spacious and convenient place than that they were in, where they wanted room, and should soon want forage." They added, "that they had foreborne to cross the river, to avoid giving them any cause to suspect their good intentions to conclude a peace."

The next day a messenger from the Russian plenipotentiaries came to the Chinese, and answered "very sedately" to all their complaints and inquiries; and afterwards complained, on account of his masters, that two of their people had been killed, and inquired whether they came to make war, &c. "He insisted much that the conferences should be held with an equal number of men on each side, observing at the same time that the plenipotentiaries of the czars were accompanied with no more than five hundred soldiers, and that no more were to follow, because they came only with pacific views." On the 7th, another messenger came, who said the plenipotentiaries would not arrive in less than nine days, being obliged to wait for their retinue. On the 10th, a messenger arrived from the principal of the Russian plenipotentiaries, with an answer to the ambassadors' letter of the 1st. Of this letter Gerbillon says:

"It began with a compliment on their uneasiness at his delay, which he

excused by signifying that his messenger at Peking had informed him they would not arrive so soon, and that in the letter which themselves had written to him from Peking, they intimate that they would not be at the place of conference before August; that for this reason he had used less expedition to avoid the fatigue of the journey; that, however, he would now hasten to remove their uneasiness, and provide forage for their cattle; that it was not the custom in any part of the world, for those who enter the territories of another to treat of peace, to advance to a fortress; wherefore he intimated to them to remove to some distance from the place, and let him encamp there, since it was but reasonable that he should be nearest the fortress; adding, that a little farther off they might find forage. After this, he promised, by the grace of God, if nothing intervened to obstruct a perpetual peace in regular conferences, to arrive at Nipehu by the 21st of August."

A regular campaign was now opened, and both parties zealously entered on a long war of words — contemptible and despicable in itself, but highly characteristic of these great men and great nations as well as of some others. We hope such scenes are not again to be enacted here. It is time the term *good-faith* were fully understood, and duly regarded. The answer received by the ambassadors on the 10th was not very pleasing, and they resolved at once to send messengers to hasten the Russians: for this purpose three officers were dispatched on the 12th. Three days afterwards, the governor informed the Chinese that the plenipotentiaries would arrive in a day or two more. The officers dispatched on the 12th returned on the 16th, well satisfied with their reception by the plenipotentiaries. At length, on the 18th, the chief plenipotentiary made his appearance; the next day was wholly taken up with messages respecting the time, place, and manner of holding the conferences. On the 20th, the preliminaries were so far settled, that it was agreed — says Gerbillon :

"That the first conference should be held on the 22d; that our ambassadors should pass the river with forty mandarins, and 760 soldiers, 500 of whom should be drawn up on the bank before our barks, at equal distance from the place of conference and the fortress; that the other 260 men should attend the ambassadors to the place of conference, and post themselves at a certain distance behind; that the Russian plenipotentiary should have an equal number of guards and attendants, and posted in the same manner; that the 260 soldiers on both sides should carry no arms but swords, and to avoid treachery, our people should search the Russians, and the Russians them, for hidden weapons; that we should post a guard of ten men over our barks, that there might be an equality in everything; that the ambassadors should meet under their tents, which should be placed one beside the other, as if the two were but one; and that they should set in the tents one over against another, without any superiority on either side."

The next day the camp-marshals surveyed the ground: and at break of day, on the 22d, eight hundred Chinese soldiers with their officers passed the river. But, says our chronicler:

“When everything was ready to begin the conferences, an accident fell out which was near breaking all our measures. The Russian plenipotentiary had only consented that 500 soldiers should remain on board the barks, but being informed that they were posted on the bank, and nearer the place of conference than had been agreed upon, he sent to demand the reason of this alteration. Our ambassadors, who had never treated of peace with any other nation, fearing to trust the Russians too far, were willing to secure themselves against any surprize; for being entire strangers to the law of nations, they did not know that the character of an ambassador rendered his person sacred, and secured him from the insults of his greatest enemies. Hereupon they intreated us to go to the Russian plenipotentiaries, and obtain leave for their soldiers to remain upon the bank; which they granted, after we had laid before them the case of our ambassadors, representing that it was necessary to yield to their want of experience, unless they were for breaking off the negociation even before it was begun. However, the plenipotentiaries would oblige them to promise that no more soldiers should land, or be drawn up in arms. After all, we had some difficulty to prevail on our ambassadors to cross the river, on account of the jealousies raised in them, particularly by the general of the emperor’s troops in Eastern Tartary, who had often been deceived by the Russians when he had any affair to transact with them. But we alleged so many reasons, that at last they were persuaded to pass the river, and enter into conference.”

We need not stop here to describe the state in which the high plenipotentiaries of the czars, and the ambassadors extraordinary of the son of heaven, now moved to their respective stations. The persons who engaged in the conferences, and the manner in which the first was opened, we give in Gerbillon’s own words.

“This plenipotentiary had for his colleagues the governor of Nipchu, who presided also over all the country of the czars on this side, and another officer of the chancery, who had the title of chancellor of the embassy. The chief ambassador was Theodore Alexievicz Golowin, grand-master of the pantry to the czars, lieutenant-general of Branxi, and son of the governor-general of Siberia, Samoyeda, and all the country subject to Russia from Tobolskoy to the eastern sea. He was magnificently dressed, wearing over a gold brocade vest, a cloak or cassock of the same, lined with sable, the finest and blackest I ever saw, which at Peking would yield 1000 crowns. He was a short corpulent man, but of a good presence and easy carriage. His tent was neatly fitted up, and set off with Turkey carpets. Before him was a table with two Persian carpets, one of which was of silk and gold; on this table were his papers, his ink-stand, and a very neat watch. Our ambassadors met under a plain linen tent, and seated themselves on a great

bench, that had no ornament but a cushion, which the Tartars, who sit on the ground, after the fashion of the eastern people, always carry with them. Of the Russians, none sat but the three already mentioned; the two first in chairs of state, and the last on a bench; all the rest stood behind their principals. On our side, excepting the seven tajiin who had the title of ambassadors, and a vote in council, none sat but four camp-m Marshals, P. Pereyra and myself. We two were seated at the side of the ambassadors, in the space between them and the Russian plenipotentiaries, to whom they sat opposite; the marshals had seats behind the ambassadors, and all the other officers and mandarins stood. As soon as every body had taken his place, which was done with the greatest equality (for both parties alighted, sat down, and complimented one another at the same instant), a gentleman of the Russian embassy, a Pole, who had studied philosophy and theology at Cracow, opened their commission by word of mouth, in Latin, which language was familiar to him. After which our ambassadors were desired to produce theirs, and begin the conferences: but they excused themselves, being willing that the Russians should first explain themselves. At length, after a great deal of ceremony on both sides, about yielding the honor and advantage of speaking first, the Russian plenipotentiary asked our ambassadors, if they had full power to treat of peace and the limits, offering at the same time to show his own, written in form of letters-patent; but our ambassadors declined to see them, and took his word. It was agreed not to mention what had passed, or any affairs of lesser consequence, till they had settled the bounds between the two empires, which was the main point."

Both parties commenced with exorbitant demands, requiring much more than they could or did (expect to) obtain. It was almost night when both declined making other proposals, and it was agreed to begin a "fresh conference" in the same order the next day. Then, "the ambassadors shook hands, made their mutual compliments, and separated," and so ended the negotiation of the first day — having advanced, like the courser of Soo Yewpñh, in the story of *Les Deux Cousines*, two steps backward.

The second day's conference ended more coldly than the first; and the Chinese ambassadors sent to pack up their tents, "*as if* they intended to have no farther conferences." The three following days, were spent as uselessly as the two preceding; and on the 27th it was resolved by the Chinese, that their troops should pass the river and "form a blockade about Nipchú," and also "cut down the corn about Yaksa." Against these proceedings, the Russians protested, and some counter orders were issued, but too late. During this parley, on the 28th, the Chinese troops began to appear beyond the river on the mountains above Nipchú, and soon advanced in sight of that place, the ambassadors themselves passing the river at the same time.

An open rupture seemed now almost inevitable, Gerbillon's agency apparently prevented such an issue. Having at length agreed respecting the principal lines of demarkation, terms of the treaty came under discussion on the 29th. Thus matters stood on the 1st of September, when a new difficulty arose respecting the boundary near the Udi. The Chinese now plainly saw that by seeking for more than they had orders to demand, they were in danger of breaking off the negotiations, and concluding nothing. The Russians protested — both parties reiterating their strong desire for peace, to conclude which, they said nothing should be wanting on their part. On the 6th, drafts of the treaty were written out and the manner of its being signed, sealed, and sworn to, agreed upon, by an interpreter on one side, and Gerbillon on the other, both acting by the authority of their masters.

The following is a copy of the treaty: of it, Gerbillon says, “in our ambassador's copy, the emperor of China was named before the great dukes of Russia, and our ambassadors before their plenipotentiaries: but the Russians in theirs, set their great dukes first, and themselves before our ambassadors; in the rest they agreed verbatim.”

“By order of the most great emperor, we, Song Hotu, colonel of the life-guard, counsellor of state, and grandee of the palace; Tong Quekang, grandee of the palace, kong of the first rank, commander of an imperial standard, and the emperor's uncle; Lang Tan, and Lang Tareha, commanders of imperial standards; Sapso, commander of the forces on the Saghalian ula, and governor-general of the neighboring countries; Mala, great ensign of an imperial standard, and Wentu, second president of the tribunal for foreign and other affairs: being assembled near the town of Nipechu, in the 28th year of Kang-he, and in the 7th moon, with the great ambassadors plenipotentiary, Theodore-Alexioviez Golowin, Okolnitz, lieutenant of Branki, and his colleagues, in order to repress the insolence of certain rovers, who passing beyond the bounds of their lands to hunt, robbed, murdered, and committed other outrages; as also for settling the bounds between the two empires of China and Russia, and in short, to establish an everlasting peace and good understanding, have mutually agreed to the following articles.

“1. The river named Kerbechi, which is next to the river Shorna, called in Tartarian, Urwon, and falls into the Saghalian, shall serve for bounds to both empires: and that long chain of mountains which is below the source of the said river Kerbechi, and extends as far as the eastern sea, shall serve also as bounds to both empires; insomuch that all the rivers and banks, great or small, which rise on the southern side of those mountains, and fall into the Saghalian, with all the lands and countries from the top of the said mountains southward, shall belong to the empire of China; and all the lands, countries, rivers, and brooks, which are on the other side of the other mountains extending northward, shall remain to the empire of Russia; with this



restriction nevertheless, that all the country lying between the said chain of mountains and the river Udi shall continue undecided, till the ambassadors of both powers on their return home shall have gotten proper information and instructions to treat of this article; after which the affair shall be decided either by ambassadors or letters. Moreover, the river Ergone, which falls also into the Saghalian ula, shall serve for bounds to the two empires; so that all the lands and countries lying to the south thereof shall appertain to the emperor of China, and whatever lies to the north of it shall remain to the empire of Russia. All the houses and dwellings, which are at present to the south of the said Ergone at the mouth of the river Meritken, shall be removed to the north side of the Ergone.

"2. The fortress built by the Russians in the place called Yaksa, shall be entirely demolished, and all those subjects of the empire of Russia, now dwelling in the said fortress, shall be transported with all their effects upon the lands appertaining to the crown of Russia. The hunters of the respective empires may not, upon any account whatever, pass beyond the bounds settled as above. That in case one or two ordinary persons should happen to make excursions beyond the limits, either to hunt, steal, or plunder, they shall be immediately seized and brought before the governors and officers established on the frontiers of both empires; and the said governors, after being informed of the nature of the crime, shall punish them according to their deserts. That if people, assembled to the number of ten or fifteen, shall go armed to hunt or pillage on the land beyond their limits, or shall kill any subject belonging to either crown, the emperors of both empires shall be informed thereof, and those found guilty of the crime shall be put to death: but no excess whatever, committed by private persons, shall kindle a war, much less shall blood be shed by violent means.

"3. Everything that has passed hitherto, of what nature soever it may be, shall be buried in everlasting oblivion.

"4. From the day that this perpetual peace between both empires shall be sworn to, neither side shall receive any fugitive or deserter: but if any subject of either empire shall fly into the territories of the other, he shall be immediately secured and sent back.

"5. All the subjects of the crown of Russia, who are at present in the empire of China, and all those belonging to the crown of China, who are in the empire of Russia, shall remain as they are.

"6. Regard being had to the present treaty of peace and mutual union between the two crowns, all persons of what condition soever they be, may go and come reciprocally, with full liberty, from the territories subject to either empire into those of the other, provided they have passports by which it appears that they come with permission; and they shall be suffered to buy and sell whatever they think fit, and carry on a mutual trade.

"7. All the differences that have arisen relating to the frontiers of both crowns being thus terminated, and a sincere peace and eternal union being settled between the two nations, there will be no longer any ground for un-

casiness, provided the abovementioned articles of the present treaty, which shall be reduced to writing, be punctually observed.

“8. The chief ambassadors of the respective crowns shall reciprocally give each other two copies of the aforesaid treaty, sealed with their seals. Lastly, this present treaty, with all its articles, shall be engraven in the Tartarian, Chinese, Russian, and Latin languages, upon stone, which shall be placed at the bounds settled between the two empires, there to remain as a perpetual monument of the good understanding that ought to subsist between them.”

Here we must close our extracts. Those who wish for more complete details on this subject, will find them in the journal from which we quote. At the present moment, this short notice of a treaty formed, signed, and sworn to, by Chinese and Russian ministers extraordinary and plenipotentiary, will we trust, be acceptable to all our readers. And the Chinese, who always like a precedent for what they do, have here a good one, given them by their greatest emperor. The place where the treaty was sworn to was a tent set up near the town of Nipchú. Thither the high officers repaired,—the Chinese escorted by more than fifteen hundred horse, the Russians by three hundred foot soldiers, with colors flying and the music of kettle-drums, trumpets, bagpipes, &c. The Russians alighted first, and to do the honors of their country, advanced a few steps to meet the Chinese, and invited them to enter the tent first. The plenipotentiaries and ambassadors took their seats opposite each other, on benches covered with Turkey carpets, with only a table between them. Gerbillon and the Russian interpreter were also seated at the upper end of the table—all the rest of the retinue, great and small, standing up. The treaty was now read aloud. This being done, each party signed and sealed the two copies that were to be delivered to the other; viz. by the Chinese, one in Tartarian, and a second in Latin; by the Russians, one in their own language, and another in Latin. However, only the two Latin copies, were sealed with the seals of both nations. After this, the high contracting parties, “rising altogether, and holding each the copies of the treaty of peace, swore, in the name of their masters, to observe them faithfully, taking Almighty God, the sovereign Lord of all things, to witness the sincerity of their intentions.” The exchanges of copies were now made, and the parties embraced each other—trumpets, drums, fifes, and hautboys, sounding all the while. The next day there was an interchange of presents, &c.; and on the 9th, two days after the ratification of the treaty, the Chinese set off for Peking.

ART. IV. *Premium of one hundred pounds sterling, for an essay on the opium trade; conditions on which it will be awarded; the period for receiving essays extended to January, 1841.*

THE original conditions, on which this premium was to be awarded, were stated in our fifth volume, page 572. Those conditions were somewhat modified by the committee of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in London, as noticed in our seventh volume, page 174. Several manuscripts came before that committee prior to the 25th of March, 1839, and were placed in the hands of arbiters, who separately gave their opinions respecting them in writing. Whereupon the committee concluded, they had not sufficient reason for awarding the prize to either of the competitors. Accordingly the manuscripts were returned, and the period for new essays has been extended to January, 1841. In this arrangement the committee have acted discreetly. Lord Brougham and those sitting with him on this subject, in general committee, will no doubt take all proper care that the prize be duly awarded. There has been hitherto such a lack of information, and such a want of interest, regarding affairs in China, that it were hardly to be expected essays would be forthcoming worthy of the prize, within the time first named by the committee. We are glad, therefore, another period is afforded. Had the subject been discussed many years ago, and been more extensively and accurately understood, much of the distress and perplexity which has recently been felt in this and other parts of China — especially here during the past year — would doubtless have been avoided. The use of the drug, and the traffic in it, have increased with most extraordinary rapidity, and have led to — or at least hastened on — events of the most fearful nature, and no man living can foretell where and in what these will terminate. The subject can no longer fail to command attention. The present crisis has brought it under the consideration of the British parliament, and thrust it on the notice of the whole civilized world. Public opinion will soon be formed respecting it — for in it all are concerned, the merchant, the statesman, and the philanthropist.

The essays, it will be recollected, consisting of not less than 40 or more than 100 octavo pages, addressed to Thomas Coates esq., secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, London, must be sent post paid, or be delivered to him in such a manner as

to be free from any charge. It will be borne in mind also, that the object of the essay is to show the effects of that trade 'on the commercial, political, and moral interests of the nations and individuals connected therewith, pointing out the course they ought to pursue with regard to it.' Each competitor is at liberty to treat the subject in the manner he judges best. An important part of the essay doubtless will consist of details, showing as accurately as possible what the traffic is — and for this the best sources of information, to which we can refer, are the several periodicals published in China, Calcutta and Bombay, and parliamentary papers.

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ART V. *Edicts from the local authorities,—the high imperial commissioner Lin, the governor and lieutenant governor of Canton, the admiral, commander-in-chief of the maritime forces of the province, &c., addressed to foreigners.*

THE following translations of edicts, (Nos. 1, 2, 3,) of which we have not been able to procure the originals, we copy from the Register and Press. Referring to public matters of importance they deserve to be put on record.

No. 1.

Kwan, admiral of the Canton station, and leader of the maritime forces of the province, hereby issues the following proclamation that all may know and understand. I have just received a communication from their excellencies the high commissioner, Lin, and the viceroy of Canton, Täng, to the following effect :

“The English superintendent Elliot, after having delivered the opium, petitioned us, begging for permission to load his ships at Macao, to which petition we at the time gave our flat denial. The conduct of the said superintendent from that time has been outrageous and unreasonable in the extreme : he has not caused the empty opium ships to get under weigh ; he has not caused the depraved foreigners expelled by imperial authority to return to their country ; (some of his people) having beat to death one of our native people, he obstinately refuses to give up the foreign murderer ; the merchant vessels lately arrived, he has so arranged that he will not permit them to enter the port, but allows them to sell the new drug on our seas as before ; and our edicts, which have been from time to time

transmitted to him, he has stubbornly refused to receive; he has even gone such lengths as in his own person to lead on foreign ships against our cruizers, specially placed for the defense of Kowlung, raising thereby disturbance, and taking advantage of our absence to fire off his guns, thus wounding our mandarins and soldiers! Our valiant troops however returned their fire with a noise like a thunderbolt, upon which the foreigners, routed and dispersed returned again to Tseëshatsuy where they cast anchor. And although on the 7th day of the 8th moon (14th September of 1839) he (Elliot) went himself to Macao, and begged of the Portuguese governor to present a note from him to the keunmin foo (or mandarin of Caza Branca), in which he said that "all he desired was peace and quietness" yet we find that he merely commissioned him to deliver so many unmeaning words, and that there is not the slightest proof of his sincerity or submission! On the 9th day of the said month, he departed from Macao and returned again to Hongkong, and on the 10th day came a foreign vessel stealthily standing in for Kowlung, prying and spying about her, by which we can sufficiently see that he still cherishes foolish and presumptuous thoughts, and has no sense of fear or repentance in his heart. Now our mandarins and troops for sea and land service, being all assembled ready for action at the Bocca Tigris, we therefore address this communication to you, the admiral, that you draw up your fleet and army, and appoint a day when you will attack and subdue them. You must not permit them to loiter about at Tseëshatsuy, forcing off their opium, and deluging the central, flowery land with their poison!—and other words to that effect."

This having been duly received, I find that I, the admiral, rule over the whole of these seas, and my especial duty is to sweep them clean of the depraved and reprobate. Since then I have received the button of a leader of the army, I ought forthwith to appoint a day for the great gathering of my troops; but I, the said admiral, am descended from a family that dates as far back as the Han dynasty (2,000 years ago): the line of my forefathers sprang from Hotung. My ancestor was the deified emperor Kwan footze (commonly called the Mars of China); splendid and luminous was his fame! bright and dazzling the place of his imperial abode! The godlike warrior's ardent wish was to practice benevolence and virtue! his mind was grand and powerful as the winds and clouds; his heart genial and refulgent as the sun by day or the moon by night! Now I, the said admiral fly like an arrow to recompense the goodness of my country, and tremblingly received the admonitions of my great ancestor: I

deal not in deceits and frauds, nor do I covet the bloody laurels of the butcher! Remembering that Elliot alone is the head and front of the offense (or ringleader in crime), and that probably the bulk of the foreigners have been intimidated or urged on by him, were I suddenly to bring my forces and commence the slaughter, I really fear that the gems and the common stones would be burnt up together. Therefore it is that I again issue this proclamation, which proceeds from my very heart and bowels, that it be promulgated abroad everywhere. Oh, ye foreigners! if you belong to those opium ships which have already delivered up their opium, or if you are among the number of those who have been banished the country by imperial command, ye must instantly proceed to the wide ocean, and spreading your sails get ye far hence! As regards the newly arrived merchantmen, which are lying anchored here in clusters like bees, in swarms like ants, do ye try and reflect for a little, at a time like this, and under circumstances such as these, how can you continue to carry on your clandestine trade, aiming after unlawful gains by forcing into consumption your forbidden drug! As for you, who are honorable merchants and follow after a lawful calling, still more ought ye not to go near to or herd with the others, lest that ye along with them encounter the same blazing torch! But ye ought instantly to shun such company, and behold, I, the admiral, entertain for you a mother's heart! The words I speak are true as if spoken by the lips of Budha himself! If indeed Elliot can yet repent and awake to a sense of the error of his ways, let him not object to come before me, confess his sins and beg for mercy, in which case I myself will intercede for him! But if he still persists in remaining obstinately doltish 'as before, indulging in foolish expectations and perverse opposition, then considering the good fortune and grandeur of our celestial empire, united with, or depending upon, all the gods of heaven, just as in the case of the robber Lintsing, when the lightning struck him at dead of night, or in the case of the rebel chief Changkihurh (i. e. the prince Jehangir), when the banners waved and (the earth) was covered with iron weapons, so still supported by the spiritual protection of my holy ancestor will (in your case) a terrible display of our majesty be made! We have often enjoyed his divine patronage! Thus then the very gods and spirits cannot interfere in your behalf. Oh, ye foreigners! do ye all of you lend an attentive ear to these my words! A special proclamation!

Taoukwang, 19th year, 8th moon, and 16th day. Bocca Tigris, 23d September, 1839. *Canton Press*, 12th October.

## No. 2.

Leäng, principal magistrate of Singan district, and Lae, commandant of the Tapang military station, hereby conjointly issue this public notice, that all men may know and understand.

Whereas the English superintendent, Elliot, has handed us up a card, the contents of which are as follows: "Elliot respectfully writes this to state, that he, the foreign superintendent, is just now desirous of peace and quietness, and having already informed the high officers of government (of the same) by petition, has now received their edict in reply and hopes at an early date to arrange matters all right and proper. Only at this present moment there are people who go about spreading all manner of false reports, causing the hearts of men to fear and doubt, therefore it is that the said superintendent now respectfully requests you to issue some proclamation that may have the effect of soothing and pacifying them, &c., &c."

At the same time we, the district magistrate and commandant, duly petitioned the imperial commissioner and viceroy, and in course received their reply, commanding us to issue such said clear and distinct proclamation, and words to that effect; and for that reason, we, the said district magistrate and commandant, now proclaim to the men of all foreign ships that they may thoroughly know and understand:—the fire-ships were got ready, because that your foreign ships placed themselves in opposition to the laws, and scheming after the sale of their opium as of old, we had no resource but to destroy these said foreign vessels, in order to do away with a great source of evil. If the said foreigners, however, are willing of themselves to leave off the opium traffic, and give the bond according to the form or model required, and take their ships and cause them all to enter the port, and deliver up the murderer (of Lin Weihe) and duly submit to these and other points (touched upon in the commissioner's edict), the high officers then will surely look upon them with increased compassion; how can they possibly feel disposed to consume the gems with the common stones! Oh then, all ye foreigners! Do ye forthwith conform to the form of the bond, and duly sign and seal, that ye will henceforth never more dare to smuggle opium. Ye newly arrived ships with legitimate cargo, do ye immediately enter the port. Ye depraved foreigners and empty opium store-ships, do ye instantly return to your country, and let the murderer (of Lin Weihe) be forthwith produced, and there certainly will be no further cause for anxiety. But if ye dare again to delay and procrastinate, involving yourselves in error, if ye dare further to smuggle and sport with

the laws of the land, then the evils that will follow after, are what ye cannot fathom. If your lot be happiness or if it be woe, it will only be you who have brought the one or other upon yourselves. The high officers of the celestial dynasty have not yet made up their minds; therefore, oh ye foreigners, do ye all tremble and obey! Do not oppose. A special proclamation!

Taoukwang, 19th year, 9th month, 6th day. Given at Koonyung (near Hongkong), Oct. 12th, 1839. *Ibid.*

No. 3.

Yu, &c., and Tsëang, &c., officers of the celestial empire, send this communication to the English superintendent Elliot, for his perusal and full information. Upon the 25th instant we received from the high imperial commissioner to our address forwarding copies of two memoranda from the said superintendent, and of two communications sent to him. The following is the reply:

“The memorandum which Elliot before sent to the said joint prefects, was to cause all the ships to give obligations, with his own bond added thereto, after which search should be submitted to, but it wanted the words ‘the parties immediately executed.’ I, the commissioner, with the governor, treated them with sincerity of purpose, and promised that if they would indeed subscribe the bond in the form prescribed they should not need to undergo search. This was a mean of leading them into a direct and speedy road, to bind them by the force of good faith and justice. But the foreigners not knowing good from bad, cast aside the easy to take up the difficult; and went so far as to make the pretext of sailors carrying it to preserve for themselves ground whereon to smuggle. For this reason, it became the more necessary to be in the very highest degree close and strict. It became requisite that one or two should be brought to execution before the rest could be cautioned. How could they be suffered, before the fixing of regulations, at once to hurry forward to request permits. I would ask you what cause there could be to put yourselves in a hurry for these foreigners, when, after having been held back by Elliot, and not permitted to enter the port for more than half a year, till the main part of their goods must have suffered from mould, and still they have not yet learned to dread the fire, but seek to—so perverse and deceitful are they—encroach upon our defensive guard. Besides the requesting of permits has reference to the ships entering the port. On this occasion are the ships indeed, after the removal and search, to enter the port; and do all the foreign merchants and Elliot consider of returning all of a sudden! From first to



last you officers have made no inquiry on these points—how great your remissness.

“I find that the goods at Hongkong have of late been secretly committed to the Americans, to be conveyed by them into port, to an amount, I know not how great. It being requisite to search, the Americans must first be hindered from carrying the goods in for them, as I have said in my reply to another address. Besides this, the items to be introduced into a series of regulations are not few. How then can hastiness and confusion be suffered?

“I, the commissioner, reckoned that to search a vessel thoroughly would required five days; so that taking 40 as the number of vessels, two hundred days would necessarily elapse before the whole search could be completed. Before its completion, the English foreigners, whether families or others, cannot be permitted to return to Macao, and their supplies must still be with strictness cut off. What further need then can be said of compradors and servants? But if the bonds be given in accordance with the form prescribed, then everything, without exception, may be as usual. Thus, Warner’s vessel, having been the first to enter the port, and the cargo merchant Daniell, having been first in obtaining a permit to proceed to Canton, an established form is here, and what is the difficulty in acting in conformity, and obedience. Furthermore, I, the commissioner, having in two former replies to addresses, gone over each particular with distinctness, how is it my words are set aside as if unheard? I require of you immediately to report in answer hereto, and in compliance with my former reply to drive forth with severity the English foreigners who have successively returned to Macao. If the bond be not settled, there can by no means be any indulgence allowed.”

We further received an official reply from the high imperial commissioner to a joint representation made by us of the American ship-master, Fokwang, having purchased an empty Indian store-ship, in order to convey cargo to Whampoa, to trade. The following is the tenor of the reply:—

“The Indian store-ship *Mermaid* having come to Kwangtung for the warehousing of opium has remained so long as six years. Having in this spring delivered up the opium on board, she should have been immediately driven back to her country. But she has been delayed here, at pleasure, until now. It was difficult to insure that during this time there have been no clandestine sales of opium made by her; and had she been fallen in with by the naval war vessels, she must have been burnt as was the *Virginia*, for a warning of punishment.

The ship having now been sold to others, it is still needful to ascertain if the goods on board are of a legitimate nature, before determining regarding her. From this representation it appears that the American foreign merchant who has purchased his vessel, Delano, has also purchased cotton and other cargo from the country ship [Charles Grant,] Pitcairn, and has requested a passport to proceed to Whampoa. I, the commissioner, having carefully investigated the circumstances, find them attended with much precipitancy and confusion: and it is difficult to sanction them.

“Now, after the delivery of the opium, this year, it was required of all the cargo-ships of every nation that they should execute bonds according to the new law, distinctly setting down that if any brought opium the men should immediately be executed, and the ships and cargo confiscated to government.’ Afterwards, the American ships having been the first to enter the port, on the 11th of June, at which time the particulars of the new law had not been promulgated, the terms used in their bond were somewhat confused and indistinct; and all the vessels successively arriving the same continued onward without alteration. But now the new law has already been received, wherein it is said that, any foreigners bringing opium to the inner land shall be immediately executed, the principals by decapitation. the accomplices by strangulation; and the ship and cargo shall be wholly confiscated to government;’ all must, therefore, insert in their obligations the form prescribed. At present there are the Indian ship-master, Warner, and cargo-owner Daniell, who have distinctly written it in the form prescribed, and proceeded to Whampoa to trade. Herein may be perceived the unsuspecting and clear mind wherewith they conduct an honorable traffic, and therefore they have been treated with a redoubled degree of kindness. I would ask, seeing that the Indians (country vessels) have given the bond after the prescribed form, how a just equality can be maintained, if the Americans should not give it in the same form? All American ships hereafter arriving shall be required to give the bond in this form, ere they shall be permitted to proceed to Whampoa. And still more will it be impossible to allow this ship to enter the port, if the bond be not written in the prescribed form, seeing that she has been a country store-ship now empty, and that her cargo is cotton taken from on board a country ship. Moreover, the superintendent Elliot having now requested that the country cargo-ships may be searched by officers, it becomes necessary that distinct limitations should be set thereto. If American ships import for the country ships their

cargoes, it is the more necessary that the bond should be given in the form prescribed, ere they receive permission to go to Whampoa. And if not so, they must remain among the number of the country ships, and undergo search: the Americans shall not be allowed to import for them. Thus perfect truth may be obtained herein and the general accord be freely given.

“ Besides addressing the naval commander-in-chief, that he may send war-vessels from Shakeö to intercept the ship ‘Mermaid,’ and to require her to give the bond as prescribed, before she be allowed to proceed to Whampoa; besides also writing to the governor and to the superintendent of customs that they examine into the matter—I likewise require that commands be enjoined on the English and American superintendents, foreign merchants, and the hong merchants, Howqua and the others, that one and all may pay obedience, without opposition.”

Having received this, we,—besides giving orders severally to all the American merchants and to the hong merchants, that they may one and all pay obedience,—proceed at the same to communicate the same for information. On this communication reaching the said superintendent, it will be his imperative duty to pay implicit obedience to the matter of his excellency’s reply. For all the cargo ships there are it must be required to subscribe bonds, in the same form as Warner has done for his ship. They will then be permitted to proceed to Whampoa; and all other matters, without exception, may also be arranged as usual. As compared with the removal and search, how much more speedy and straightforward! They must not be allowed secretly to commit their cargoes to Americans to import for them. If the giving of bonds be not settled, then the English foreigners, who have successively returned to Macao, must with all speed be required, one and all, to leave it, nor be allowed in the least degree to linger, so as to involve seizure and investigation. In all these things be there no opposition. Be speedy! Be speedy! A special communication. (Oct. 26th, 1839.) *Canton Register.*

No. 4.

LIN high imperial commissioner, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the provinces Nganhwuy, Keängse and Keängsoo, Täng a director of the Board of War and governor of the two provinces Kwangtung and Kwangse; E a director of the Board of War, and lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung; and Yu chief superintendent of the maritime customs of Canton, &c.; issue this manifesto.

On the 20th instant, we received an imperial order, to wit: “If

duly prepared bonds, which are true and can be depended upon, are given for the ships, then the existing evils will gradually be removed; but if bonds are not so given, and there are further changes and vacillations, then it will be right to instruct by martial terrors, and to close the trade forever, that the stupid and wayward may be warned, and made to fear and tremble."

Now we find that during the 8th month, the sub-prefect (or keun-min foo) of Macao transmitted to us a statement from Elliot, requesting that bonds might be given for trading. We, the commissioner and governor, confiding in this proposition, without suspicion, laid the subject before the emperor by a memorial; and we have cause for gratitude, that his august majesty, the emperor, early acquainted with the dispositions of foreigners, foresaw that they would hardly avoid changes and vacillations. And now the said foreigners have again dared to become obstinate and disobedient, refusing to give the bond. This is truly change, vacillation, inconstancy,—which cannot evade the all-pervading glance of his majesty. It is right, therefore, that we, in obedience to the imperial will, put an end to the trade. The ships of all other nations, and also Warner's and Towns' two ships, which have all conformed to the terms of the bond, are those of merchants pursuing a legal and honorable trade, and will be allowed as formerly to pursue their commerce. But to all besides these, from and after the first of the eleventh month, (the 6th proximo) the port will be closed. Thus, acting in conformity to the imperial will, we have reported to the throne, that the trade with the English nation be stopped forever.

Wherefore we issue this manifesto; according to the tenor thereof, be it known to all the custom-house and other officers, hong-merchants, linguists, pilots, with the foreigners of all other nations, that from and after the period of closing the port above named, all trade with the English and Indian ships is forbidden. But besides these, the ships of all other nations, whose merchants give the duly prepared bonds, will be allowed a free trade. Thus admonition will be given, and a distinction made between the good and bad. Nor will any clandestine connection with the said English foreigners be allowed, by which the goods of their ships, or their ships under false names, may be admitted. Any transactions of this kind, when found out, will be visited with a like extinction of trade.

This is done in obedience to the imperial edict, in order to cut off forever the source of the opium, and to warn foreigners against change and vacillation. View it not as a common matter, but rather tremble and obey, without opposition. A special edict.

N. B. The above is a translation of the manifesto, alluded to on page 389 of the Repository for November. The original, printed in large characters, in numerous copies, stamped with the seals of the high officers by whom it is issued, was posted up in the streets of Macao on Wednesday evening, Nov. 27th. Manuscript copies of it were in circulation on the 24th; those copies, however, were only in the name of the commissioner and governor. The above is dated Nov. 25th.

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ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences: comprising a succinct recapitulation of the principal incidents, especially connected with foreigners, during the year eighteen hundred and thirty-nine.*

January 1st, the trade of the port of Canton, by command of the local government, was re-opened to foreigners.

It was reported, that the party opposed to the admission of opium on payment of duty, had gained the entire ascendant in the imperial councils; that three princes had been punished for opium-smoking; that Heu Naetse had been dismissed from the public service; and that memorials, from all the provincial governments, had been laid before the cabinet, the general council, the imperial house, and Board of Punishments, for final consideration.

A proclamation to the people was published by the acting magistrate of Nanhac, against the use of opium, with a recipe for curing the habit of smoking the drug.

3d. Lin Tsihseu, governor of Hookwang, was appointed by the emperor, to repair to Canton, in order to stop the traffic in opium.

3d. and 7th. Public meetings of foreign residents were held for the formation of a Seamen's Friend Association.

7th. An edict was issued by the magistrate of Nanhac, by order of the governor, admonishing all smokers, at once to break off the 'vile habit.'

Native houses in Canton were searched for opium and apparatus for smoking it. Gates were erected in the streets to impede the policemen in order to search their persons for opium before they searched the houses.

10th. An edict was issued by the governor, against ships bringing opium to Whampoa, and declaring that if they did so they would be sent back to their own country. Another edict came out from the governor, commanding the hong merchants to secure sundry vessels then at Whampoa.

14th. The cohong paid the first dividend, of four per cent., on the debts of Kingqua, to the foreign creditors of that hong.

16th. A new form of bond was proposed by the hong merchants to the Chamber of Commerce, to prevent the smuggling of opium and syceec.

22d. Several European passage boats were licensed to run between Canton and Macao, for the purpose of conveying letters and passengers.

23d. A dispatch was received by the governor from the Board of War, giving conveyance to an imperial edict, of the 3d, respecting the new commissioner.

A proclamation was addressed to foreigners by the governor and, lieutenant-governor, giving notice of the approach of a special commissioner, and urging the immediate removal of all the opium and store-ships from the Chinese waters, threatening a stoppage of the trade in case of non-compliance.

27th. A regulation that the debts of one hong merchant to foreigners shall not exceed a hundred thousand taels, was ordered, by the local authorities, to be engraven on stone, and kept in everlasting remembrance.

*February 1st.* All the back doors of the foreign factories were ordered to be blocked up.

4th. Rules and regulations were promulgated by the British chief superintendent for the establishment of a maritime police in the Chinese waters.

A document was published "on the best mode of arresting the opium plague," written by Chow Te'ntse'ü, superintendent of the transport of grain.

A dividend of three per cent. was paid on Hingtae's debts, making the total hitherto paid amount to seven per cent.

3d. The schooner Attaran, captain Jackson, was lost near the island Nanpang, a few miles westward of Macao, with 130 chests of opium.

16th. A coroner's inquest was held, by the magistrate of Nanhae, at the Ophthalmic Hospital in Canton, respecting the death of a Chinese.

26th. A Chinese, accused of trafficking in opium, was strangled in front of the foreign factories. All the foreign flags thereupon ceased to be hoisted.

28th. A request was made by the British merchants to their superintendents of trade, to detain H. M. sloop Larne, in the Chinese waters.

*March 7th.* The British chief superintendent required all British owned passage boats, not having licenses, immediately to proceed outside of the Bogue, and not return within the same.

10th. Lin Tsihseu, the imperial commissioner, made his entrance into Canton, and took up his residence in one of the collegiate halls.

11th. A European boat, belonging to the St. Vincent at Whampoa, on her way from Canton to the ship, was run down by a Chinese lighter, and nine of the crew lost.

18th. Two edicts were issued by the commissioner — one to the hong merchants, and the other to the foreigners: the latter requiring, 'every particle of the opium in the store-ships' to be delivered up to government, and bonds given that they will never again bring any more on penalty of death, and promising in ease of compliance a remission of the past and the continuance of commerce. The term of three days was given for a reply.

19th. By an edict from the hoppo, addressed to the hong merchants, all foreigners were forbidden to go to Macao.

One of the licensed passage-boats, the Snipe, was stopped at the Bogue on a charge of smuggling, and brought back to Canton. She was afterwards broken up.

21st. All communication with Whampoa was stopped, and troops assembled on the river and in the suburbs near the factories. The Chamber of Commerce assembled, and 1037 chests were tendered for surrender.

22d. Mr. L. Dent was invited to go to the city-gates to meet the commissioner. By circular from captain Elliot at Macao, all British ships were ordered to rendezvous at Hongkong and put themselves in a posture of defense immediately.

23d. The hong merchants appeared early this morning, two of them with chains on their necks, urging Mr. Dent to go into the city. Messrs. Inglis, Slade, Thom, and Pearson, went in his stead. Another circular was issued by captain Elliot, at Macao, enjoining all British subjects to make immediate preparations for removing with their property from Canton.

24th. At sunset, captain Elliot arrived in Canton, and immediately hoisted the British flag, and conducted Mr. Dent to his own consular hall, at which place he summoned a public meeting. All natives were withdrawn. Provisions stopped; and a triple cordon of boats placed in front of the factories. Captain Elliot demanded passports.

25th. The foreign merchants pledged themselves "not to deal in opium nor to attempt to introduce it into the Chinese empire."

26th. A new proclamation was issued by the commissioner, urging four reasons for the immediate surrender of the opium.

By order of the government of Macao, all the opium in the settlement was sent on board ship.

27th. Captain Elliot required the surrender to him of all British owned opium in China, holding himself, in behalf of his government, responsible for the same; 20,283 chests were surrendered.

28th. An edict was addressed to all the foreign consuls requiring them to make a surrender of opium—as captain Elliot had done.

*April 3d.* Arrangements for the delivery of the opium at Chuenpe having been agreed upon, Mr. Johnston, accompanied by Mr. Thon, started for Macao, affording an opportunity for sending letters 'outside.'

7th. Mr. Johnston arrived at Macao, and embarked in the cutter, *Louisa*, for the *Bogue*. The illicit traffic renewed.

9th. Meeting of merchants and officers at the consoo house continued till near midnight, discoursing about the bond, and 'nothing but the bond.'

10th. The commissioner and governor proceeded to the *Bogue* to witness in person the delivery of the drug. The *hoppo* preceded them.

12th. A communication of this date, from Mr. Johnston at Chuenpe, announced the delivery of 650 chests.

15th. A notice was issued inviting sealed tenders for a British clipper, to bear dispatches to the home government.

19th. An order was promulgated by the prefect of Canton, for the return to the factories of servants and compradors.

Special and earnest commands were given, by edict from the high officers, for the immediate presentation to them of the bond, in order to evince "on the part of every one a mind respectfully submissive."

20th. Half of the opium was delivered, but the passage boats were not allowed to run,—the stipulation for this notwithstanding. Deliveries stopped.

*May 4th.* An order promulgated for the passage boats to run, and for the resumption of trade. Sixteen individuals named, were not to leave Canton until further notice.

5th. This afternoon the triple cordon before the factories was broken up, and a part of the guards removed.

6th. The European boats, with about fifty passengers, left Canton for Whampoa and Macao.

8th. An edict was published from the provincial government and commissioner, addressed to the British superintendent and foreign consuls, allowing them their request that, at the head of the people and vessels of their several countries they might return home: adding, "after you have thus returned, you will not be allowed to come again: let there be no turning backwards and forwards, no inconstancy."

14th. An edict was issued by the local authorities, commanding all the streets leading into the square, (except Old China street) to be closed up, and the shopmen in them to remove.

19th. Public notice was given, by captain Elliot, to prevent British subjects, vessels, and any other property, from entering the port.

About this time a new regulation was promulgated, requiring that all vessels should be measured before entering the port; officers in consequence went on board the fleet of ships in Macao Roads, and measured them.

21st. At 2 o'clock this morning, the delivery of the 20,283 chests was completed, and the whole stored at Chunhow, near a creek east of the *Bogue*.

22d. In a public notice from captain Elliot, he recapitulated the items of complaint against the commissioner, and repeated his injunction against the introduction of property, and cautioned all British subjects against continuing their residence in Canton beyond the period of his own stay.

23d. An order was issued by the commissioner requiring ten of the sixteen proscribed persons to give bonds that they would never again return to China. Some had given bonds previously.

A memorial dated this day was addressed by the British merchants to lord Palmerston, respecting the recent acts of the Chinese government.

Commissioner Lin appointed to the governorship of the Leang Keang, i. e. the three provinces of Keangse, Keangsoo, and Nganhwuy.

23d. P. W. Snow esq. the American consul left for Macao in the inside passage.

24th. At about 5 o'clock p. m. captain Elliot, accompanied by a number of the British merchants left Canton.

27th. U. S. A. frigate Columbia, George C. Read esq. captain, arrived from Singapore. She was soon after joined by the sloop-of-war John Adams, Thomas Wyman esq. captain, from Manila.

29th. A mandate was received from the emperor ordering the whole 20,291 chests (eight additional having been surrendered by one of the merchants outside) of opium to be destroyed, so that all the inhabitants of the coasts and foreigners in Canton might see it and be admonished.

Her Britannic majesty's sloop-of-war Larne, capt. Blake, sailed from Macao for the Indian station.

30th. The clipper Ariel, captain Warden, on her Britannic majesty's service, sailed from Macao with dispatches for the home government.

June 1st. The number of foreign residents in Canton reduced to about five and twenty, among them a few English and Parsees, British subjects.

5th. The commissioner and governor issued orders for all vessels to enter the port, or immediately to return to their own countries.

11th. An American ship entered the Bogue, and others soon followed, all yielding to the hound.

12th. At a meeting of British merchants in Macao, the preparing to send British ships and property to Canton was viewed with regret.

14th. The local officers issued an edict for the purpose of hastening the entrance of all the ships within the Bogue.

16th. The Ann Jane, the last of the British ships in port, passed out of the Bogue, heavily laden with cargo for England.

17th. Mr. King and others, in the ship Morrison, captain Benson, visited Chunhow to witness the process of destroying the opium.

21st. Captain Elliot published a manifesto declaring against the conduct of the commissioner in endeavoring to induce British subjects to disregard his (captain Elliot's) lawful injunctions.

23d. New port regulations were issued by the hoppo. A form of bond finally agreed upon, and signed by Americans bringing ships to Whampoa. Chinese officers seized and detained on board ship at Hongkong. Rumors of renewed operations outside in the traffic of opium.

27th. The terraces on the top of all the foreign factories owned by the hong merchants were taken down by order of the magistrates, lest, as it was said, the foreigners should overlook the city.

July 7th. Commissioner Lin, governor T'ang, and the other high provincial officers, visited the foreign factories.

An affray occurred at Hongkong, in which a native, named Lin Weihe, lost his life.

10th and 15th. Correspondence between the British chief superintendent and merchants respecting a scale of demurrage.

26th. Rules and regulations promulgated, which were to be observed in the court of justice with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction, for the trial of British subjects in China, and on the high seas within one hundred miles of the coast.

August 3d. A meeting of British merchants was held in Macao for the purpose of organizing a British chamber of commerce. A provisional chamber only was formed.



5th. Captain Elliot issued a public notice for the first session of the court of criminal and admiralty jurisdiction.

6th. The *U. S. A.* frigate *Columbia*, commodore Read, and the sloop-of-war *John Adams*, captain Wyman, sailed for the Sandwich Islands.

12th. The first session of the court of criminal and admiralty jurisdiction held at Hongkong.

15th. All supplies, for British subjects in China, interdicted by the commissioner and governor.

17th. A meeting of British subjects convened by captain Elliot to concert measures for their personal safety.

18th. The orders for interdicting food were repeated; and all servants and compradors, in the English houses and families, left their employers.

21st. Captain Elliot gave notice that, unwilling to compromise the safety of the Portuguese, the commission would embark that evening.

23d. Mr. Snow, the American consul, embarked this afternoon in a chop boat for Canton.

24th. An attack was made on the British schooner, the *Black Joke*, and several of the people killed and others wounded.

25th. At a committee meeting of British subjects held this day, it was resolved that all should leave Macao next day.

26th. The embarkation took place in the afternoon, and all British subjects left Macao — excepting two or three invalids, and one gentleman known and recognized as Prussian consul.

Chinese troops were quartered at Tseñshan; and large numbers, probably more than one third, of the native population left Macao.

30th. *H. B. M.* ship-of-war *Volage*, H. Smith esq. captain, arrived and anchored off Macao, and soon after proceeded to Hongkong. The *Hyacinth* arrived some days subsequently.

31st. A proclamation was issued by the Chinese, calling on the people to arm themselves, and to resist parties of English landing on their coasts.

*September 3d.* The commissioner, and governor of Canton, visited Macao, and were escorted from the Barrier by Portuguese troops.

4th. An encounter took place at Kowlung between English armed boats on one side, and Chinese junks and a fort on the other.

6th. An edict was published by the commissioner, animadverting on the affair of the 4th, and the noncompliance in the surrender of the murderer, &c., and authorizing the Chinese to seize and kill any English on shore.

8th. The hoppo of Canton entered Macao this morning, and left it again on the morning of the 8th, with public honors. Trade between Canton and Macao was resumed soon after his visit.

10th. Mr. Bridgman, at the request of the commissioner, went to Chun-how, and returned on the 12th.

11th. Notice was given by captain Smith, of the *Volage*, of his intention to blockade the river and port of Canton, after six days.

12th. Early this morning a Spanish ship, the *Bilbaino* from Manila, was burnt by Chinese officers in the *Typa*. The mate was seized and carried prisoner to Canton, and subjected to the punishment of wearing the cangue.

14th. An edict was published by the Portuguese senate ordering an armed vessel to cruize in the Roads and *Typa*, and prohibiting all vessels from entering the *Typa* with cargoes of opium after the 1st of October.

16th. The blockade was not carried into effect — a boat, supposed to have been cut off, having returned, and negotiations having been opened.

21th. An interview took place between captain Elliot and the subprefect of Macao, having reference to an amicable arrangement for trade.

*October 9th.* The commissioner, by proclamation, declared that so long as opium continued to come he would continue to act against it.

12th. The British vessel *Sunda*, captain Alexander Greig was wrecked on Hainan, the cargo, all the passengers, and several of the crew, were lost.

15th. Public notice was given by captain Elliot that he had, the preceding day, accepted conditions from the commissioner and governor, involving the opening of the British trade outside the port of Canton.

The English ship *Thomas Coutts*, captain Warner, entered the port after having signed a new bond, henceforth to be required instead of the old one.

20th. Captain Elliot promulgated the conditions, agreed on by himself and the high officers, for conducting the trade outside the Bogue.

22d. Minutes and memoranda of meetings of British and hong merchants, respecting the outside trade, promulgated in Macao.

26th. Captain Elliot gave notice of the commissioner and governor having violated their engagement for the trade outside the port of Canton.

27th. An edict was published complaining of the renewal of the opium trade on the east and west coasts, and threatening to take the English into custody if they continued obstinate.

28th. Another edict was published declaring that six hundred troops had been stationed at the Barrier, and that all the English should be driven from Macao, and not allowed to return, so long as the ships refused to enter the port, and the murderer was not given up.

*November 3d.* An action took place off Chuenpc, 11. v. 11. ships *Volage* and *Hyacinth* engaged with the H. E. admiral and twenty-nine sail of junks.

On subsequent and successive days there were cannonadings and random shots at Hongkong, and its vicinity. The fleet of merchant vessels removed to Tungkoo. On the expediency of this removal there was a correspondence between the British authorities and the merchants and shipmasters, the latter being unwilling to remove.

20th. Captain Elliot gave information that he had requested the senior officer of 11. M. ships to obstruct the further entrance of British vessels to the Bogue, under the present circumstances.

26th. An edict was published by the commissioner, and high provincial officers, declaring that their trade with British vessels, excepting only the *Thomas Coutts* and *Royal Saxon*, on and after the 6th of December would cease. Large shipments of cargo from the British vessels were made by American and other foreign vessels.

*December 3d.* M. J. Senn Van Basel esq., the consul of his Netherlands' majesty left Macao for Batavia.

6th. The hon. E. I. Company's finance committee and their last official servant left China.

8th. A part of the crew of the Portuguese vessel, the *Casador*, recently wrecked on Hainan, returned to Macao, via Canton. The remainder of the crew were soon to follow.

18th. An edict was issued by the commissioner and governor forbidding the introduction of British goods in other foreign vessels.

16th. An address from captain Elliot forwarded to the commissioner asking an undisturbed residence in Macao for British subjects.

26th. Mr. Gribble, a British subject, was captured off Tungkoo, on returning from the *Royal Saxon*—which vessel entered the Bogue.

29th. The *Volage* and *Hyacinth* left Tungkoo, for the Bogue, to inquire respecting Mr. Gribble.

On this brief recapitulation of the events of 1839, we have no space for comment. To the foreign community in China it has been a year of singular interest, marked by extraordinary changes and reverses, and ends with the prospect of open hostilities. That such an issue may be averted, peace and prosperity restored, is our ardent prayer to the God of nations, the ruler of all princes.—For our readers and friends we wish a happy new years.



